

IN THESE TIMES

Karen Nussbaum
on **9 to 5**
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**western
economic
summit**

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THE INSIDE STORY



Despite setbacks, Washington allies jockey for power

By David Moberg

CHICAGO

There are signs that the political button industry, beneficiary of a boom during the heated mayoral race, may continue to thrive. Around city hall partisans on one side have been sporting white buttons with slogans like "Free the Vrdolyak 29—Solidarity" or simply "29," while their opponents wear red stop-sign buttons saying "Stop Fast Eddie" or full-color, oversized photo buttons of the city council calling for unity.

"Fast Eddie" Vrdolyak, leader of the 28 white and one Latino aldermen opposing Mayor Harold Washington, attempted to install a new slate of committee chairs and new rules for the city council in the first meeting after Washington's inauguration (*In These Times*, May 11). The maneuvers not only reduce black leadership and keep white liberals out of power, but also make it easy for the old guard to bottle up legislation.

Left unchecked, such moves could have made Vrdolyak, the controversial and powerful council figure who tamed his one-time opponent Mayor Jane Byrne, a parallel mayor.

Washington and his allies fought back from their position of numerical weakness—commanding only 21 votes in the council—with parliamentary moves designed to stall for time to negotiate a more satisfactory political solution and to demonstrate that Washington did not intend to capitulate easily to the old guard.

First, Washington preemptorily adjourned the initial May 2 meeting, and vetoed a resolution calling for a May 6 meeting (while still maintaining the illegality of the "rump session" on April 29). Then he ruled that a special May 7 meeting was improperly called.

At the May 11, legally mandated meeting, Washington's allies first pledged for a recess to encourage creation of a compromise at meetings that were taking place between two six-member negotiating committees. But the Vrdolyak 29 refused. Then, rejecting repeated choruses of "point of order" and sternly ordering the city clerk (an ally of Vrdolyak who had undercut the mayor repeatedly) to read his messages to the council despite the chaos, Washington vetoed all the "illegal" resolutions.

The political confrontation has been fought on several fronts simultaneously: parliamentary, wrang-

ling in the council, negotiations between the two sides, lawsuits in the courts and pressure by Washington supporters in the neighborhoods on vulnerable council members.

Circuit court Judge James Murray, a former machine alderman who nevertheless had a relatively clean reputation, was faced with a series of questions that were extremely murky in law and precedent. In the end he ruled in favor of the Vrdolyak 29 on all counts: the rump session was legal (a quorum existed and calls for a roll call had been made to Washington), the special meeting was properly called, and the resolutions had been properly passed and improperly vetoed.

Washington and the 21 had argued that since the council is a continuing legislative body, its old rules apply until new ones are passed. The old rules in this case require a two-thirds vote to change the rules. But the judge ruled that although it was a continuing body and the law was very unclear, custom suggested that the two-thirds rule did not apply. (The 21 argued that since for the past 50 years there had been no real division in the council, there was nothing in the history of unanimous or near-unanimous votes that applied in this case.)

Judge Murray agreed that the mayor could veto any resolution or motion providing for expenditure of funds but concluded that setting up committees and their charts does not spend money.

Although the mayor and the 21 are appealing the ruling and still have the power to veto any attempt to fund or staff the new committees, the decision was a setback that gave new encouragement to the 29, who began to call committee meetings, to claim control over the powerful finance committee office and to push a tougher line in negotiations. When the judge stayed his order pending appeal, Washington's attorneys regarded the pro-Vrdolyak rulings as suspended and, quite naturally, Vrdolyak's lawyers said the council's actions on May 2 were in force. The judge is likely to see both sides again as the battle for power continues.

Hanging tough.

Throughout this three-week turmoil Washington has attempted to show his determination and hang tough, hoping eventually to dilute the power of such machine stalwarts as Vrdolyak and Ald. Ed Burke (named as the new finance chairman).

The 29 have tried to cloak their grab for power in the guise of reform, arguing that now—having lost the mayor's race to a black reformer—it was finally time for the council to stop being a "rubber stamp." But the cloak of reform fits poorly, given their personal and political histories. Even within the bloc of 29 there are individuals who do not like or trust Vrdolyak. Yet Fast Eddie is becoming a hero of sorts to Washington's white opponents, despite criticism from newspaper editorialists.

The Washington camp's reform image, however, has been muted. The mayor had to resort to heavy-handed parliamentary tactics, even if they were in the ultimate interest of reform. And one of the central fights is to retain black machine alderman Wilson Frost as finance chairman. Frost presided over the budgetary shenanigans of former Mayors Michael Bilandic and Byrne. Yet some Washington supporters are willing to drop him if he gets a face-saving position and if the Vrdolyak forces made a similar concession, abandoning Burke or dividing the powers of the committee.

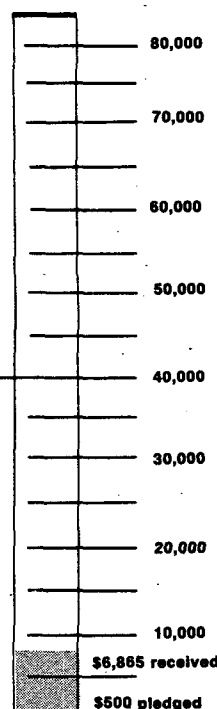
Most of the negotiations so far have centered on ways to create more positions of responsibility. The Washington forces appear to favor establishing a variety of subcommittees rather than putting council members on new commissions or other city agencies, as earlier proposals suggested, which would have cut into executive authority or minimized independent citizen involvement in government. But the 21 expected concessions—and at least a few of the 29 seem willing to make concessions—and worry that the negotiations have been carried out in bad faith, while the Vrdolyak allies move to seize power.

Washington, of course, still has veto power and the council support to sustain a veto. He can make acting appointments even if the council does not approve them. Also, several members of the 29 do not appear irrevocably opposed to the mayor. Even Vrdolyak, Burke and others may realize that despite their majority, Washington has considerable power and their fight may cost them in the long run.

"I think they realize how bad it is for inexperienced people to be heads of important committees," argues Ald. Larry Bloom, a negotiator for the 21. "I think they realize it's wrong to exclude blacks and independents from leadership. I think they're scared the Democratic party in Cook County will be dead if this isn't resolved. (Blacks are threatening a boycott of the May 25 annual Democratic party dinner if the council power struggle is not satisfactorily resolved.) Besides, every one of them has to deal with the mayor's office on things they want over the next four years."

All that presupposes some rationality. But the machine has nearly killed itself by ignoring blacks over the past two decades. Machine politicians may feel that if the alternative is a powerful reformed Democratic Party, they'd prefer to see the old party destroyed. ■

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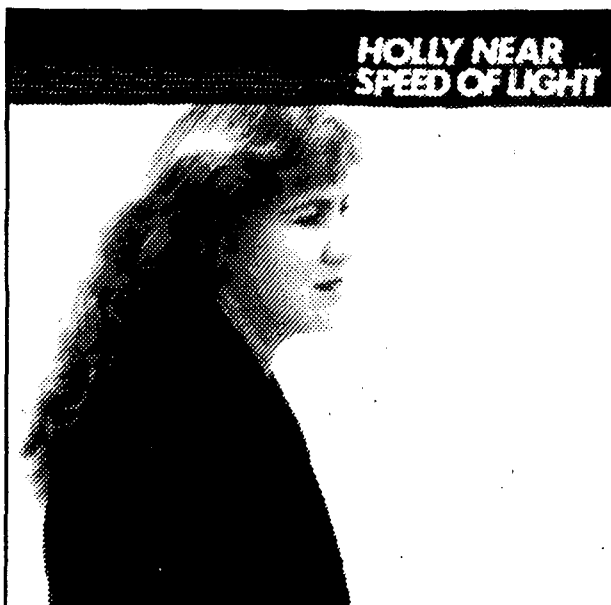
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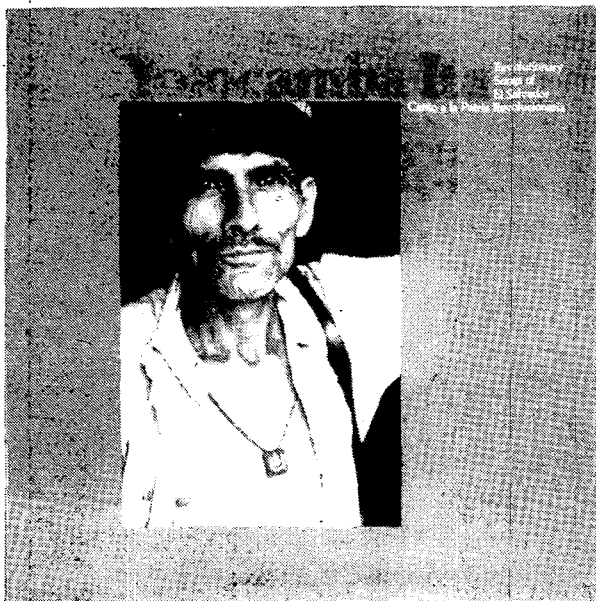
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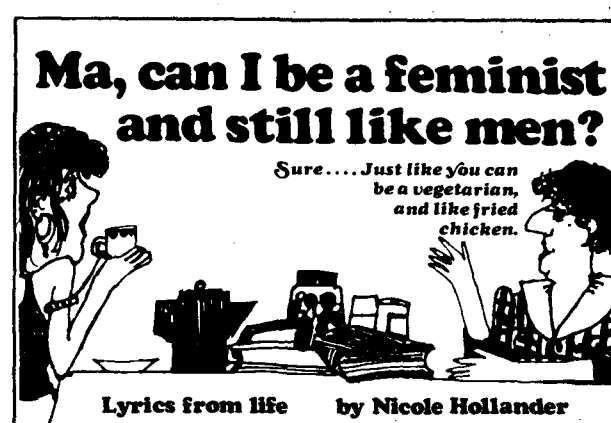
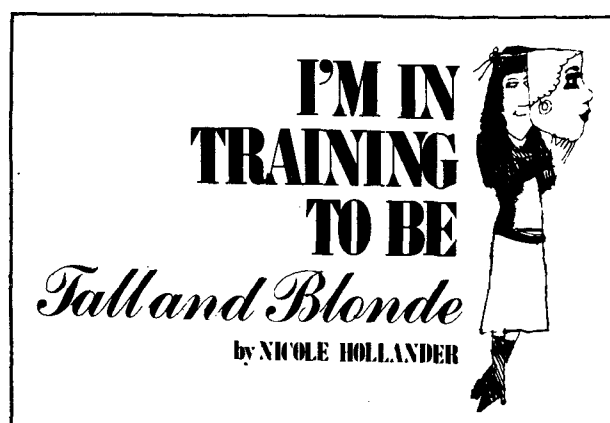
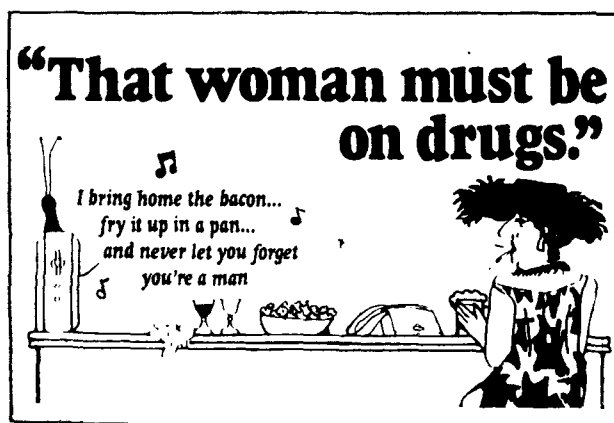
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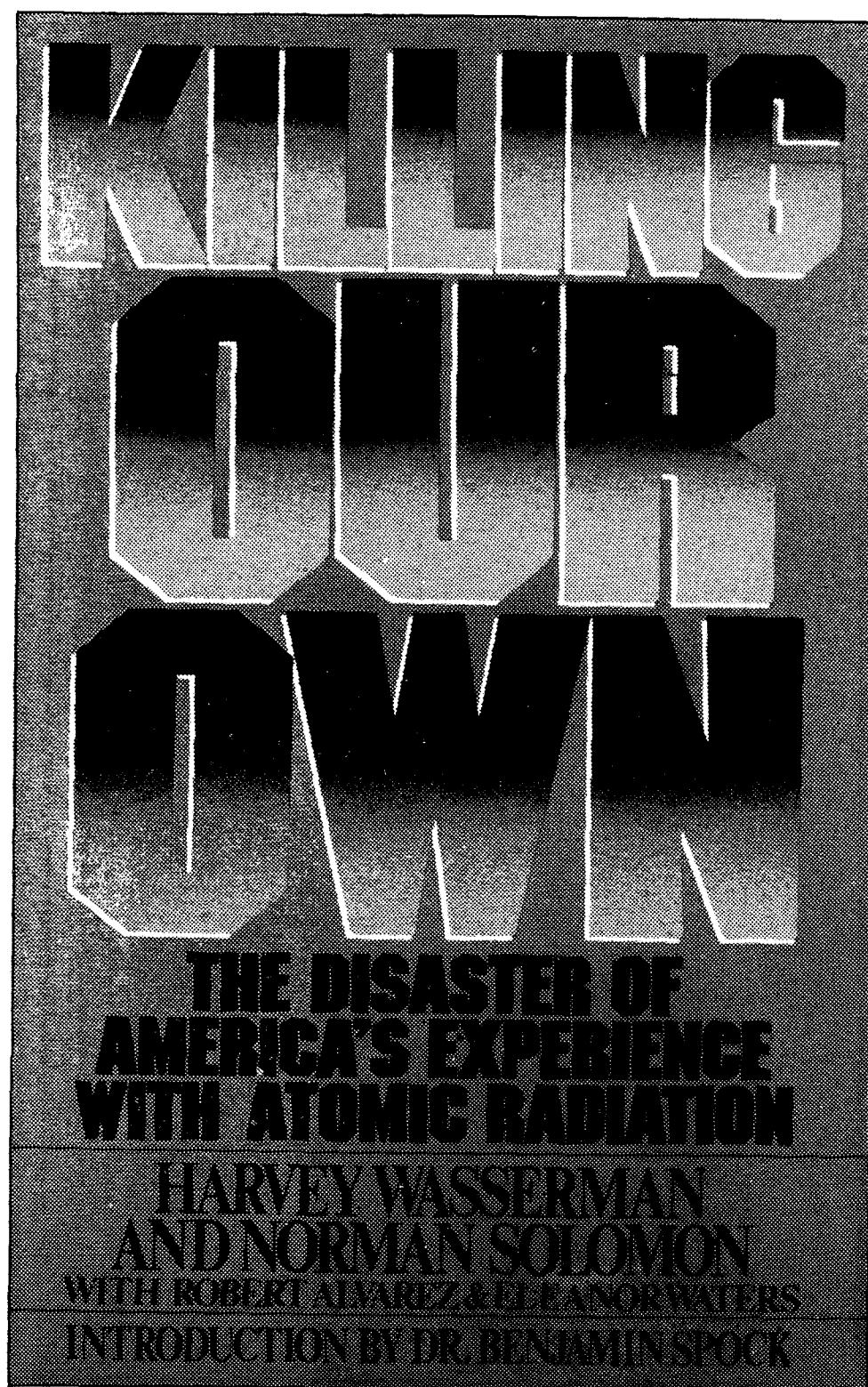
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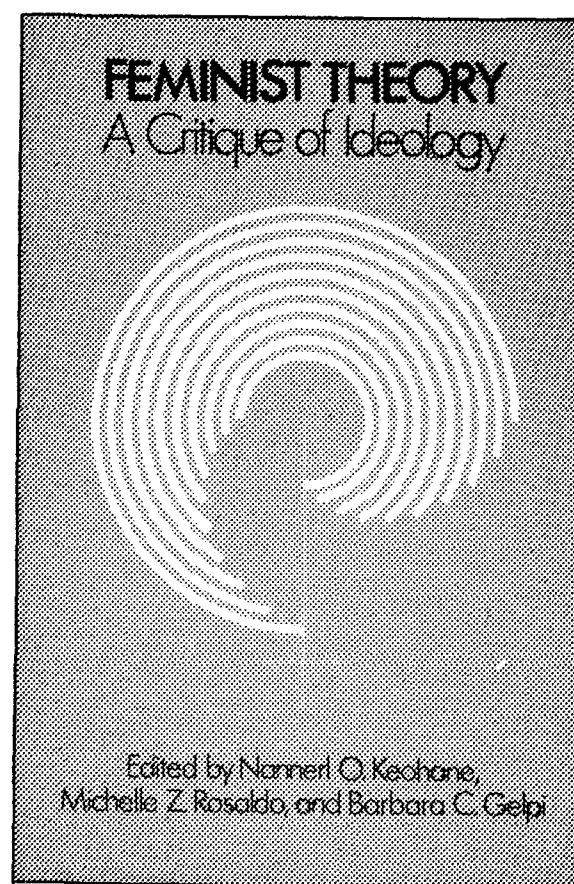
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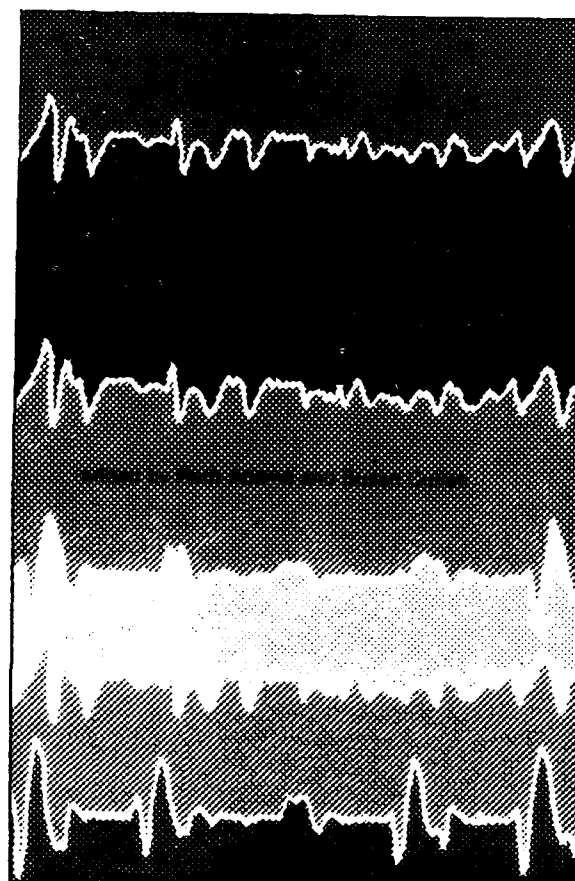
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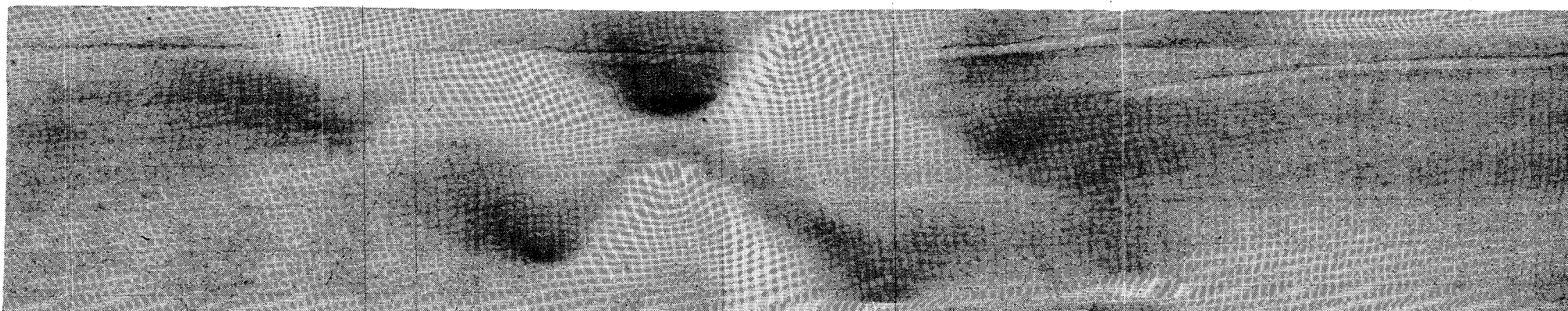
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Capitalist powers agree to disagree at annual summit

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

IT'S NOT HARD TO FIGURE OUT why leaders of the seven major capitalist powers have been meeting since 1975 in annual summits, this year's being scheduled for May 28-30 at Williamsburg, Va. Since the early '70s, the post-World War II system of military and economic alliances that link Japan, Canada, the U.S. and Western Europe has been crumbling, and the nations' leaders recognize that if they don't create new stable arrangements, they will have war, depression, revolution or all three on their hands. Among well-informed observers, analogies can be heard between the present disordered state of international relations and that which prevailed prior to World War I.

But can these leaders prevent the process of disintegration from taking place? On the basis of the last eight summit meetings, there is little reason to believe they can.

Misunderstandings at the 1982 Versailles Summit caused months of acrimonious exchange between the U.S. and Western Europe over the Yamal natural gas pipeline. At Williamsburg, the U.S. has decided to avoid superficial agreements in favor of agreeing to disagree. Such a strategy is probably realistic given the extent of disagreement among the nations, but it is also a recognition of defeat.

There are four issues that promise to preoccupy the U.S., Canada, Japan, West Germany, France, Italy and Great Britain at Williamsburg: the floating exchange rate system, trade with the Soviet Union, Third World debt and growing trade barriers. For the future of the world economy, the latter two are probably the most important. But they are likely to spark little disagreement at Williamsburg.

A new Bretton Woods.

The current disorder among the major powers is aptly symbolized by the chaotic currency arrangements that have replaced the old Bretton Woods system. According to the system established in 1944, the value of all national currencies was pegged to the American dollar, whose value was fixed at \$37 for an ounce of gold. Its success depended upon the absolute economic supremacy of the U.S., which made other nations willing to treat the dollar as gold. But when American inflation and the rise of Japanese and Western European industry threatened American supremacy, foreign countries and banks became unwilling to hold excess dollars in their vaults.

Through a series of negotiations in the '70s, Bretton Woods was replaced by a system of floating exchange rates in which each currency's value was fixed by the actions of traders in the international money market. In theory, the new system was self-regulating. The complementary actions of numerous traders would prevent wild fluctuations in exchange rates. The rise or fall of rates as a result of a surplus or deficit in a nation's balance of trade would impose its own discipline. Nations in deficit would find their currencies devalued, their standards of living threatened by the rising price of imports, but their trade balance improved by the resulting

decline in the price of their exports.

The system has not worked, however. The preponderance of high-rolling multinationals in the money market has caused repeated sharp swings in exchange rates. These fluctuations have discouraged investment and trade. "One can attribute a large part of the reduction in the underlying potential growth rate of most countries to the reduced time horizon and increased riskiness under which economic agents now have to operate," Albert Bressand, the deputy director of the Institute Francais des

currencies into American banks.

In the last years of Bretton Woods, European governments complained that the U.S. was exporting its inflation. In the '80s, governments are complaining that the U.S. is exporting its high unemployment. In order to prevent the outflow and depreciation of their currencies because of high American interest rates, other nations have had to raise their interest rates, with predictable effects on investment and employment.

The debate over the floating rates has pitted France against the U.S. The French have been the most outspokenly critical of the American role within the floating rate system. Bressand argues that if the U.S. "wants to preserve the role of the dollar and the special role and privileges associated with it," then the U.S. must "manage its currency as the international currency, which means in close cooperation with others, notably the Japanese and Europeans."

In addition to calling for coordinated domestic economic policies, the French have also argued for the return to a system of fixed exchange rates. At the May 9 meeting of the Organization for Econ-

symbolizes the wreck of the post-war economic framework, the East-West trade issue symbolizes the wreck of the post-war military-political framework.

The American government has stated three reasons for trying to curtail Soviet-Western European trade. First, the administration has claimed that such trade involves the transfer of technology with potential military uses. Second, the administration has charged that massive deals like that for the Yamal pipeline prop up the ailing Soviet economy. And third, the administration has expressed concern that the growing economic interdependence of Western and Eastern Europe is eroding the Western Alliance. American allies suspect—probably with justification—that the principle American concern is the third.

In the week of the Versailles Summit, the Reagan administration imposed sanctions against the sale of American technology for the pipeline, including European technology made with American components. Faced with European defiance, the U.S. backed down last November, but has continued to press for reduced Western trade with the Sov-



Four issues promise to preoccupy talks at Williamsburg.

Relations Internationale, wrote in the current issue of *Foreign Affairs*.

The system also has not disciplined its members in the way expected. In 1982, for instance, the U.S. ran a record trade deficit of \$60 billion, while its currency was appreciated in value. In contrast, the Japanese yen depreciated relative to the dollar, while Japan's trade surplus grew. An appreciating currency raises the price of exports, making the elimination of trade deficits more difficult.

The new system has failed because it is a continuation in one respect of the old. The U.S. remains the largest national economy. About 80 percent of non-Communist trade is still conducted in dollars. With floating rates, measures taken by American domestic economic policy translate directly into international economic policy. Thus, American high interest rates caused the dollar to appreciate by drawing foreign

omic Cooperation and Development (COECD) in Paris, French President Francois Mitterrand called for a "new Bretton Woods."

The American government, with support from conservative administrations in West Germany and Great Britain, remains adamantly opposed to any new economic arrangement. In the short term, it has also resisted pressure to alter its high interest rates. In a memorandum prepared for the Williamsburg Summit, undersecretary of State for Economic Affairs W. Allen Wallis argued that "world economic recovery depends on each country establishing the domestic conditions for sustainable, non-inflationary growth and job creation, not on an international 'blueprint' of expansionary action."

But within the U.S., there is growing support for a new Bretton Woods. On the right, supply-side economists and politicians like Rep. Jack Kemp of New York favor the return to a gold standard. On the left, Democratic economists like Lester Thurow favor an internationally coordinated program of Keynesian reflation.

East-West trade.

The issue that most deeply divides the U.S. from its allies is trade with the Soviet Union. If the exchange rate issue

At the same time, the U.S. has gone ahead with short and long term grain agreements with the Soviets.

Last month the administration further raised European hackles by proposing to Congress a new Export Administration Act that would allow the American government to curtail exports by foreign subsidiaries of American multinationals. In a sharply worded message to the administration, Western European leaders called the proposal "contrary to international law."

At the meetings of the seven-nation International Energy Agency, the administration proposed that nations limit to 30 percent the proportion of natural gas they receive from one supplier—a proposal that appeared to be directly aimed at the Yamal pipeline. But with the Williamsburg Summit approaching, the U.S. has bowed to pressure from British and West German leaders and agreed to soft-peddle the East-West trade issue. Earlier this month, the administration withdrew its proposal at the International Energy Agency.

The administration could face some embarrassment at Williamsburg if it decides to press the East-West issue. After it removed economic sanctions last year, the administration won European agreement to a number of studies that would

Continued on page 8

Stanford's ties that bind

Since Herbert Hoover founded it "to demonstrate the evils of the doctrines of Karl Marx," the Hoover Institution on Revolution, War and Peace has never enjoyed the prestige it has now as the semi-official think tank of the Reagan administration. But as those prestigious ties grow stronger, the institution's connection to Stanford University is getting frayed. Sixty-six faculty members and 1,500 students last month petitioned Stanford officials to examine the university's ties with the conservative institution, which has contributed 43 present or former fellows to the Reagan administration. Hoover received \$4 million, nearly half its budget, from Stanford last year, and the think tank's critics contend the financial support is inappropriate coming from a "value-neutral" university to an increasingly partisan institution.

Although Hoover's 1982 annual report is rife with references to its links with the Reagan administration—it features six photos and nine mentions of the president himself—its directors downplay the connection, and deny—rather unconvincingly—that politics influences appointments of its fellows. (As proof, director George Marotta pointed to a fellow openly critical of Reagan's regulatory policies—from a libertarian perspective.) But its Stanford critics don't buy the denial, and say Hoover's growing profile in the university's social sciences departments is creating a "two-tiered" faculty there—one tier the conservative Hoover fellows, enjoying the institution's offices, staff and research facilities, one tier without those perquisites. Anti-war protesters sought to sever Hoover from Stanford in the early '70s, criticizing the institution's ties to that era's Republican president Richard Nixon. But their efforts, unlike the current drive, didn't get a serious hearing. The Stanford Board of Trustees is set to take up the issue at its May 26 meeting.

El Salvador, person to person

The guerrilla supply lines President Reagan is committed to cutting in El Salvador are channeling a growing amount of aid from this country, in the form of money, medical supplies and civilian volunteers. Two U.S.-based organizations, Medical Aid to El Salvador and Committee for Health Rights, have raised more than a quarter of a million dollars to set up health care facilities in rebel-controlled areas, David Helvarg reports, and they hope to match that in the next few months with a sophisticated campaign of fundraising parties, computer mailings and door-to-door canvassing. The better-known Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador got involved with Medical Aid in January, and its 125 local chapters are canvassing neighborhoods for small donations. So far the group's "People-to-People" campaign has raised \$50,000 cash and \$150,000 in pledges.

The medical community here hasn't ignored the destruction caused by U.S.-backed intervention efforts in Nicaragua. In San Francisco funds were raised to send \$200,000 worth of hospital equipment, including beds, x-ray machines and surgical tables, to a Nicaraguan hospital earlier this spring. A 19-member study group from the American Medical Student Association is set to tour Nicaragua in July.

Road to Havana

Americans can once again pack their bags and head for a vacation in Cuba—unless the Reagan administration challenges a First Circuit Court of Appeals ruling striking down its restrictions on U.S. citizens' travel to Cuba. The regulations, which were issued in May 1982 as an extension of the U.S. trade embargo, made it illegal for Americans to spend money traveling to Cuba. Only travel by media personnel or professional researchers, and for family reunification, were exempted. Violators faced fines up to \$50,000 and/or 10 years in prison.

Debra Evanson reports that the unanimous opinion, which stops short of holding travel restrictions unconstitutional, states that the right to travel is of "constitutional proportions," and restrictions must be authorized by Congress. In fact, when Congress amended the passport act in 1978 it prohibited the president from imposing such restrictions. Before 1982, 30,000 Americans were traveling to Cuba annually.

One utility's nuclear freeze

The antinuclear movement's most potentially convincing argument against nuclear power is economic—despite its '60s hype as "safe, clean and cheap," routine cost overruns at reactors around the country were disproving at least the third leg of that propaganda triangle. Now a utility that bought the economic analysis is reaping the rewards of good judgment. New England Electric cancelled plans to build new reactors in the mid-'70s and invested in coal, and this year is seeing its bonds rated higher and its debt load smaller than nuclear-dependent utilities around the country. It's paying higher dividends than last year, and there's even good news for consumers—last week New England Electric ratepayers got news of a 6 percent rate cut.

—Joan Walsh



Absentee voters nixed Tom Bradley's gubernatorial bid in California.

Absentee vote: tool for the left

BERKELEY, CA—Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley won at the polls in California's gubernatorial election last November, but Republican George Deukmejian wound up governor. The discrepancy wasn't the result of vote fraud, but absentee ballots.

When San Francisco Mayor Diane Feinstein crushed a recall attempt with 81 percent of the vote last month, it was the absentee ballots that provided her landslide. More than 50,000 absentee ballots were cast in that election—almost one-third of the total votes—and 87 percent opposed the recall.

Since the state legislature amended the election code in 1978 to allow campaigns to mail out absentee ballot applications themselves, California candidates have experimented with the technique to varying degrees of success. With the Deukmejian and Feinstein victories, absentee voting has become the hot new electoral strategy. The left has been slow on the pickup, but political consultant Rick Schlackman expects that to change. The traditional view that absentee voting is a Republican strategy will likely go the way of ideological skepticism about direct mail: "Now we're all using it," Schlackman notes. "Technique is not ideological, technique is technique."

Absentee ballots help get out the vote, but mailing applications isn't enough—the Bradley camp set out virtually as many applications as Deukmejian's. But the Deukmejian campaign sent them to every registered Republican in the state, pre-printed with the voter's name. A well-organized phone bank operation followed up the original mailing, and the outcome was a six-and-a-half percent absentee share of the total vote, enough to swing the closest gubernatorial election in California history.

Feinstein's campaign was vastly different, and more relevant to the left, since it cost less money. "We mobilized an army of volunteers," said former United Farmworkers organizer Larry Tramatola. "We didn't do any of it by direct mail; it was all a street operation." In the weeks before the election, Feinstein workers set up shop on street corners throughout the city to hand out absentee applications. In the single-issue special election, which would normally only generate a 25 percent turnout, the absentee campaign made voting as simple as possible and the turnout was a surprising 45 percent.

Increasing voter turnout by that kind of margin should appeal to the left. Schlackman is already working on an absentee campaign for Sala Burton, who is running for her late husband Phil Burton's congressional seat. "I think it's better suited to progressives and Democrats," says Schlackman. "They tend not to

vote as much as the other side."

Not everyone is happy about the growing use of absentee ballots. California Secretary of State Marge Fong Eu is backing a bill, introduced by State Rep. Maxine Waters (D-L.A.), that would tighten the rules on absentee voting. The bill would require absentee voters to mail in their ballots within three days of receiving them and would force campaigns to send ballot applications to Eu's office for approval before distribution. Eu says the state legislature, when it revised the election code, didn't foresee the problems attached to the rise in absentee balloting "in terms of expense, in terms of confusion, in terms of hassle."

—Paul Rauber

Church, state jobs don't mix

LANSING, MI—A Roman Catholic nun embroiled in controversy because she heads a Michigan welfare agency that funds Medicaid abortions left her order May 9 rather than quit her state job as ordered by the Vatican.

Agnes Mary Mansour, 52, told a press conference last week that a papal emissary had ordered her to resign as director of Michigan's Department of Social Services or face dismissal from the Sisters of Mercy, whom she had served for 30 years. With "deep regret, sorrow and limited freedom," Mansour said she chose to leave her order to "honor my freedom of conscience and my continuing commitment to the people of Michigan, especially the poor." To disrupt the agency by leaving seemed irresponsible, she said, given Michigan's "harsh economic realities."

A bio-chemist and college president, Mansour was appointed to the state job in December by newly elected Democratic governor James Blanchard. She quickly became the center of a church debate that moved beyond the issue of abortion to questions of religious obedience.

Pope John Paul II disapproves of priests and nuns who mix in political activities, whether in the U.S. or Latin America, and directed Father Robert Drinan to resign as Massachusetts congressman in 1980. Minnesota's social services director is also a nun, but church authorities have not objected to her role.

Mansour originally received Church approval for her position from her order and from Detroit Archbishop Edmund Szoka, but Szoka withdrew his support in February when Mansour would not publicly oppose Medicaid funding for abortion.

Mansour told a state senate confirmation hearing March 8 that although she was "morally opposed" to abortion, as long as it was legal she could tolerate abortion funding for poor women. "I recognize that we live in a morally pluralistic society that government must be aware and respectful of—and that my morality may not be someone else's morality," she said. Two hundred nuns in the audience cheered her stand, while anti-abortion demonstrators protested her position.

—Joanna Brown

MAYORAL PRIMARY

Goode staves off Rizzo return try

By Bob Sanders

PHILADELPHIA

DEMOCRATS HERE NOMINATED their first black mayoral candidate on May 17 when former Philadelphia managing director Wilson Goode stopped former mayor Frank Rizzo's comeback attempt in a low-key primary campaign that was widely praised for its lack of racial animosity.

Goode's 51-44 percent victory was closer and more dramatic than predicted because of late returns from black wards. Earlier in the day, three hour lines were not uncommon due to the heavy turnout, complex ballots, massive numbers of new registered voters and a shortage of voting machines. Goode waited until 1:30 a.m. to take the podium before a cheering crowd of 10,000 supporters at the city's Civic Center.

"We're not against anybody," Goode said. "We're for everybody. It's not a victory for ourselves but for all neighborhoods."

Goode's opening volley for his November mayoral bid—he faced a white Republican and a Rizzo protegee running as an independent—bounced back the theme he stuck to throughout the primary. He studiously avoided following in the footsteps of Harold Washington, who last month became the mayor of Chicago in a bitterly fought contest (see story page 2). Goode spent as much time courting white votes as consolidating black support.

His efforts paid off. The 75 percent black turnout was a record high for the city, 90 percent of it going to Goode. He also captured about 23 percent of the white vote. Except for Tom Bradley's election in Los Angeles, it was the largest crossover vote in an urban race.

Rizzo generally echoed Goode's strategy, although he attempted to link the campaign to Chicago's mayoral battle in late March by endorsing white Republican candidate Bernard Epton the day after a white crowd ran Washington out of a Catholic church in a predominantly white Chicago neighborhood. Then Rizzo lit into Operation PUSH leader Jesse Jackson, who endorsed Goode and was misquoted in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* as saying, "The newest thing is to simply vote black." (Tape transcripts reveal Jackson actually said, "We're beginning to vote for ourselves.")

Goode immediately denounced the reported remarks and said he didn't welcome Jackson's support. But Rizzo went on to attack Jackson for being "racist," claiming he had pictures of Jackson with PLO chief Yasir Arafat and Libyan leader Moammar Khadafy, whom he called "two terrorists and madmen. I wouldn't be caught dead in a room with either one of them." Jackson aides responded that he has never met Khadafy.

At this point in the campaign, Rizzo tried to make Goode's slow but eventual release of his tax returns an issue, saying, "I'm not going to give him a free ride" because he's black.

Yet this Rizzo outburst was more the exception than the rule. Although there were racial overtones in some Rizzo commercials—"You gotta deal tough, hang tough or they'll walk all over you"—he generally tried to downplay his cop-turned-racist, corrupt politician image. By campaign's end, commercials showed him wading into a crowd of black supporters.

But Rizzo's past was too much heavy baggage to unload. People apparently did not believe his assertion that he would be mayor of "all the people." This particularly hurt him in the crucial heavily Jewish wards in the city's northeast section.

Rizzo's rise to power began in 1967 when he was appointed commissioner after he made headlines raiding folk music coffeehouses as well as turning his police loose on anti-war demonstrators and the black community.

If one image captured Rizzo's macho style during his tenure as police commissioner, it was a 1970 photo taken after he had left a dinner party to quell a disturbance in a housing project. The photo showed Rizzo with a nightstick jammed under his tuxedo. "A lotta broads thought it was my pecker," he said later.

In 1971, Rizzo captured the mayoral nomination, squeaking by a black and two white liberals (including the current mayor William Green).

He was re-elected in 1975, promising to "make Attila the Hun look like a faggot" and not to raise taxes. But the next year he slapped the city with the largest tax increase in its history, leading to a recall petition that the courts eventually ruled unconstitutional.

In 1978, nearing the end of his second term, Rizzo attempted to change the city charter to allow him to serve three consecutive terms. During the charter debate he ordered a raid on the radical black back-to-nature organization

MOVE, during which one policeman was killed and an unarmed MOVE member was beaten in front of TV cameras after surrendering to police. The black community responded with massive protests.

A few weeks later, Rizzo said at a rally where he hoped to gather support for the charter amendment, "I'm asking white people and blacks who think like me to vote like Frank Rizzo... I say vote white." But the charter change was defeated 2-1 by four coalitions reaching from the city's corporate community to groups such as the Communist Workers Party.

Frank Rizzo's sudden fall in 1978 contributed to the eventual rise of Wilson Goode.

After Rizzo's charter amendment defeat, William Green squeezed out a victory over black liberal Charlie Bowser. After his defeat, Bowser accused Green of vote fraud and filled up black churches with angry supporters. But Bowser eventually endorsed Green after Green agreed to appoint a black to the second-in-command post of managing director. Green was then forced to reiterate that promise in a general election race against a black Consumer Party candidate and a white Republican. This promise helped him win 50 percent of the black vote. Green eventually appointed Goode to the post.

Goode, who has little in common with Harold Washington politically, was then serving as chairman of the Pennsylvania Public Utilities Commission (PUC). Son of a North Carolina sharecropper, he graduated from the Wharton School of Business and became director of a non-profit housing agency. Although he had no experience in political office, he

steered PUC through the Three Mile Island crisis and built a statewide reputation as an efficient administrator.

His reputation grew during his three-year tenure as Philadelphia's managing director. Goode cut the city budget, reorganized ineffective programs and met regularly with community groups. Aside from active support for affirmative action programs, Goode generally towed Green's moderate line.

At one point, Green called the City Council "the worst legislative body in the free world" for passing legislation that would force corporations to give the public 60-days notice before shutting down factories. Because of statements like this, toward the end of Green's term pressure was building in the black community for Goode to run. But he was reluctant to challenge his former boss. It was only after Green's surprise election day announcement in November 1982 that he was not running that Goode jumped in.

Tom Leonard, city controller and the holder of a patronage post, register of wills, under the Rizzo administration, also entered the race before Rizzo announced. But when it became clear Rizzo was in the race for good, Leonard decided to run in the November general election as an independent. He's been raising money ever since and hopes to

Continued on the following page

There was little racial animosity in Philadelphia's low-key primary.

UNIONS

AFSCME takes on U. of California

By William Swislow

SANTA BARBARA, CA

ONE OF THE COUNTRY'S largest groups of university workers—44,000 clerical, technical and service employees at the University of California—will vote in the next three weeks on whether to make the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) their exclusive bargaining representative.

The vote has not come easy. UC employees did not even have collective bargaining rights until 1978, when the state legislature passed the Higher Education Employer-Employee Relations Act (HEERA). And their first large-scale effort to exercise those rights has met stiff opposition from the university administration, whose aggressive anti-union campaign has already driven the state's largest public employees union, the California State Employees Association, out of the election. The union withdrew in March, complaining that management's campaign had made a victory for collective bargaining unlikely.

But AFSCME organizers are expressing "cautious optimism" that the union will prevail against the "no exclusive-representation" ballot choice in at least some of the nine occupationally defined bargaining units that are voting.

The election follows three years of active union efforts to organize workers in what labor and management agree is a relatively humane workplace. Most employees in the nine-campus UC system enjoy reasonably good benefits and a measure of freedom that would be unusual in the private sector.

But the flip side of that freedom is often subjection to arbitrary management whims in such matters as layoffs, promotions, bonuses, grievances and career advancement.

"There is a whole system of ass-kissing and favoritism," says UC Santa Barbara researcher Mickey Flacks. "The key issue is representation. Decisions are made without genuine employee participation."



Linda Ard, AFSCME organizer for the University of California at Santa Barbara.

A vote for the union will result in better representation but in a less flexible workplace, the university counters. Informal working relationships will be subordinated to contract provisions negotiated in Sacramento.

Under exclusive union representation, "the university is legally obligated to perform all of its employment relations responsibilities through [the] exclusive bargaining representative. That puts

most everything on the bargaining table and our belief is that the resultant system will be rigid and adversarial," said UCSB Employee Relations Manager David Gonzales.

Nor will university workers see the tangible benefits usually tied to union representation, the administration argues. The legislature sets the terms of university pay scales and must approve any con-

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reap the benefits from white flight from the Democratic Party.

Three candidates struggled for a share of that white vote by seeking the Republican nomination. The winner, John Egan, was the handpicked candidate of the party chairman. Egan, former chairman of the Philadelphia stock exchange, was a life-long Democrat and a Green supporter just days before he announced his candidacy in the Republican primary. He hailed his sweeping May 17 win as a "victory for the organization."

No matter how strong the organization, Republicans are outnumbered by Democrats 5-1 (up from 3.5-1 since more than 100,000 people, the majority of them black, were added to the Democratic roles during pre-primary registration).

And Goode, unlike Harold Washington, has a greater chunk of the local Democratic organization because he did not attack the patronage system. Ward leaders split down the middle in the election for Party chairman of the Democratic Committee (narrowly won by a Rizzoite) and they officially stayed neutral during the primary. What support Goode gets from the local machine in the general election depends on the actions of Rizzo, who has yet to endorse Goode.

Also unlike Washington, Goode has a "squeaky clean" record—Rizzo could not find one dent in his shining armor.

But the differences with Washington do not end there. Goode is not a populist. Instead of being an advocate for the poor, he sees himself as a mediator. If

elected mayor he pledges to hold the line on unions, build more prisons and support tax breaks for business.

"Goode is not a threat. He talks like a businessman," said black Councilman John Anderson. That reputation has earned Goode the support of the city's corporate community, including a primary endorsement from the head of the Chamber of Commerce. He has collected a campaign chest of close to \$2 million, nearly as much as Rizzo's.

Goode's campaign doesn't have the movement character of the "stop Rizzo" campaign of 1978. It was run by a standard political organization aided heavily by Green, who has endorsed Goode.

"He's excellent," said one black who served as a city worker served under Goode, "but don't look for anything radical or spectacular. Even if he wanted to [be radical], the Green regime will become, not a millstone, but a tank around his neck. There's only so much a mayor can do."

If Goode follows Washington's footsteps to become a black mayor in a major city where blacks are in the minority, the 126th black mayor in the country, these questions remain: what would he do and what would he want to do? And unlike Washington, he will have a relatively supportive city council. But how would his ties to corporations and the Democratic machine restrain him?

Still, liberal or not, a Goode primary victory following on the heels of Washington's triumph bodes well for black political clout in the future.

Bob Sanders has written for Mother Jones and The Guardian.

UofC

Continued from the previous page
tract wage settlement: "The fiscal crisis of the state...cannot be solved by collective bargaining," one management publication points out.

The intensity of the university's anti-union drive has surprised rank and filers. Just how much money the university is spending on its campaign is subject to dispute, though. The *L.A. Times* reported that up to \$1 million is going into the campaign, while union members point out that the university's use of supervisors to state its case involves much unaccounted-for staff time.

The UC Regents officially appropriated \$157,000 systemwide to campaign against the union, university officials say, with most of that money going to prepare literature. Those funds are controversial in themselves, however, since they came from the portion of federal research contracts earmarked for contract overhead. They also reportedly have paid for the services of a Chicago-based union busting firm that union officials believe supplied the university with a training package for supervisors developed in private sector anti-union campaigns.

Unionists acknowledge they can't promise workplace miracles, given the state's serious fiscal straits. "There are some limits," admitted Linda Ard, AFSCME lead organizer at UCSB. She added, though, that the university is required by law to bargain on non-economic condi-

tions of employment. As for budget constraints: "The university is going to have to look at the priorities for spending," she said.

Union supporters complain that while the university is scrambling to find resources to maintain its academic programs, clerical and service personnel are slighted.

"There is concern shown the academics, but we—the people who run the university—are not having any increase in pay," said one UCSB administrative assistant who asked not to be identified.

"The people at the bottom really get shafted," Flacks added. "All the custodians are treated as if they are potential thieves and alcoholics and are constantly under supervision."

Unionists believe unequal treatment may help the union carry the day in lower-grade bargaining units where the union may be most needed, but both sides agree that the vote is likely to be close among the UC's 15,000 to 20,000 clerical employees, most of them women. Union supporters worry that many employees lack a clear understanding of both the benefits and pitfalls of collective bargaining. And the university's anti-union campaign is not helping, even if it has not included unfair labor practices as defined by HEERA.

The university has repeatedly insisted, for example, that the mandatory-dues provision of an agency shop are in imminent threat should AFSCME win the representation election. Management literature only sometimes notes that such a provision is specifically prohibited under HEERA.

Other university claims include an assurance to pro-union employees that it will continue to consult with their chosen representative, as HEERA requires in the pre-election period, even if the statewide vote goes against union representation. The administration is currently arguing in the state Court of Appeals, however, that it has no such obligation under HEERA.

Balloting will begin by mail May 23 and will be completed on June 16. If a simple majority of UC workers choose AFSCME as their exclusive representative, the union will seek to open negotiations immediately. Ultimately other university workers, including faculty, could be the targets of a new organizing drive based on the strength of the clerical victory.

Workers could still be a long way from a contract, however. Although HEERA requires the university to bargain on a contract and includes provisions for mediation, arbitration and impasse, it does not give UC employees the right to strike—a price of getting HEERA passed in the first place. University police have had union representation for two years, for example, but still have no contract.

But the alternative for workers is even less promising, says Ard, who points out that the union is an important advocate of employee interests even without a contract. "Once the election is over, if no representation wins, that is exactly what they will have," Ard said.

William Swislow is the editor of the Santa Barbara News & Review.

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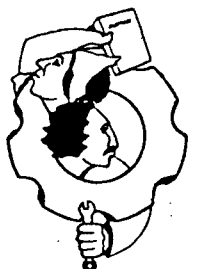
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GINNY FOAT

Long and winding road leading to a Louisiana court

By Dave Behrens

LOS ANGELES

Is there life after extradition? Ginny Foat, who pondered that question for many weeks in her California cell, will have the chance to find out now as she awaits June pre-trial hearings in Louisiana.

On April 27, after nearly four months in a Los Angeles jail, the West Coast National Organization for Women (NOW) leader pleaded innocent to a murder committed 17 years ago. Although the charge was brought by a man who is not only her ex-husband but also a convicted murderer with a long arrest record, California's new law-and-order governor George Deukmejian decided that she should stand trial in Louisiana.

Outside the Los Angeles jail, Foat's supporters had described her as the "most effective feminist leader in California history." Her close friends took it a step further, saying she was a victim of wife abuse in the past and is now once again the target of John Joseph Sidote Jr., her ex-husband.

Arrested by California police at a local airport January 11 on the belated testimony of her former husband, Foat is charged with a crime committed in 1965 in once-rural Jefferson Parish outside New Orleans. The victim was Moises Chayo, a 62-year-old businessman. Chayo's body, bludgeoned with a tire iron, was found in a drainage ditch on Dec. 11, 1965—found and forgotten.

In the ensuing years Foat became a mini-celebrity in California, a well-known feminist and political leader, California NOW's first full-time president and, last fall, a candidate for vice-president of NOW's national organization. By a narrow margin Foat lost and soon after her world began to crumble.

The Chayo murder case surfaced again in California in 1977, a dozen years after the murder and a decade after Sidote and Foat split up.

John Sidote was in a New York jail on a burglary charge. Wrestling with attack of delirium tremens, police say, he "confessed" that Ginny Foat had been involved in the Chayo murder. Sidote claimed that he and Ginny, his traveling companion at the time, picked up a wealthy man in the French Quarter and drove him to a remote road in Jefferson Parish.

A struggle began. It ended, according to Sidote, when Ginny grabbed a tire iron and hit Chayo three times. They took about \$1,400, he claimed. But Sidote had more to tell: he also implicated his former wife in the December 1965 murder of Donald Fitting, a hotel employee, outside a Nevada casino. Sidote claimed he was drunk and wasn't the one who fired the fatal shots.

In 1977, Louisiana agreed to allow Nevada to try its case first and Sidote returned to plead guilty to a reduced charge of voluntary manslaughter—in exchange for his testimony against Foat. Foat was living in California at the time. Arrested for the first time in her life, she was brought to Nevada to face the Fitting murder charge.

But Sidote was sentenced to 25 years in prison. Enraged, he reneged on his deal to testify against Foat and Nevada dismissed the charges against her. Foat was immediately rearrested in Nevada on the Jefferson Parish warrant. Faced with

Sidote's refusal to testify, however, Louisiana also decided not to pursue its case and a Nevada judge freed her. She returned to California, believing that her legal tangles were behind her.

But by 1981 Sidote was free on parole in Nevada. Why he was free is a matter of some confusion. Nevada and Louisiana officials cannot agree on why Sidote was not extradited to Jefferson Parish at the time. Nevada claims Louisiana had officially withdrawn its "hold" on Sidote. Not true, answers Louisiana. They assumed Sidote was still in prison.

NOW's national board and executive assistant to a Los Angeles city councilman.

Mandell and Foat, friends say, had had a political falling out earlier in the year. Mandell confirmed that she made the inquiry about Foat's past, explaining that Foat was being considered for a possible city appointment.

But Sheriff Lee observed that "the amazing point" was the reference to "Virginia Galluzzo," a name the Louisiana computer recognized. Somehow, the name "Foat" had been lost in the files. A week after Foat's January 11 arrest in California, a Jefferson Parish grand jury indicted her for murder.

She was sent to the Sybil Brand Institute for Women, a structure of bleak windowless walls in the low hills east of Los Angeles. It was the prison where Patricia Hearst also awaited trial, in a maximum security wing where visitors are permitted a 20-minute look-in once a day.

Foat's problems did not surprise her closest friends, who knew about her old ties with Sidote, the once-dashing singing bartender she met when she was 23. And some knew about her 1977 bout with the Nevada and Louisiana charges. Supporters rallied around the cause, raising more than \$30,000 for Foat's legal fees in the



Some claim that the NOW leadership has been lukewarm in supporting Ginny Foat.

Foat's problems did not surprise her closest friends, who knew about her ties with Sidote—the dashing bartender she met when she was 23.

But the dispute became academic when Sidote was arrested again—for drunk driving—and his parole was revoked. Now he faced more time in the Nevada prison, and he decided it was time to chat with Louisiana officials.

By coincidence, Louisiana had a new interest in the case. Just after Christmas, the office of Jefferson Parish Sheriff Harry Lee received a call from a California NOW leader, requesting information on the legal status of Virginia Foat or "Virginia Galluzzo," Foat's maiden name. The inquiry came by telephone from Shelly Mandell, also a member of

first two weeks. But her friends say that more than \$150,000 is needed.

While many feminists and friends are spearheading Foat's defense fund campaign, some believe NOW officials have been lukewarm in supporting the California leader. Officially, NOW has given Foat a leave of absence with pay. But that's not the whole story, according to some California feminists.

Jan Holden, one of Foat's closest friends, claims that "NOW national executive officers have tried to distance themselves from the Foat case.... They really wanted her to resign and pretend

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she never existed, pretend she never had any impact or effect on NOW."

From the national office in Washington there has been effort to urge feminists to stop their fundraising efforts on behalf of Foat, according to Foat supporters. California NOW insiders say that as a result of the pressure from the national office, the California NOW's executive committee has "buckled under," recently dividing 5-4 against active pro-Foat support. Meanwhile, the California defense fund, which has raised more than \$40,000 so far, is gearing up again.

While national NOW is officially supporting Foat, only one fundraising ad has appeared in NOW's national publication and it raised only \$130, according to one of Foat's friends. Members of the Foat defense fund express even more concern about what they characterize as a "slander campaign" to discredit the personal integrity of some of Foat's most active and outspoken supporters. And according to one Foat supporter, some California NOW executive board members, apparently knuckling under to the anti-Foat pressure from the national office, are taking the position that "It's Ginny's personal problem now," and "We're not going to let this issue wreck NOW."

Midge Costanza, President Jimmy Carter's former aide, claims that Foat is being harassed "for political motives," especially by anti-feminists in Louisiana. Costanza, who supported Foat's bid for the NOW vice-presidency last year, added, "Ginny told me all about the old charges when she asked for my support. ...She was afraid of a whispering campaign during the NOW election and she made it clear to me that she did not commit any crimes. She didn't have to tell me, but she wanted me to know what she might have to deal with."

On the day she was indicted, Foat addressed from her cell an open letter to her friends. It was, informally, a plea of innocence, since the question of her guilt or innocence cannot be a legal issue in California. She wrote:

"To all my sisters... We are all prisoners of a system which uses its many tricks to punish us for our strengths and reward us for our weaknesses. My strength is believing in the power of women to make a world that is free of oppression and violence. My weakness is to have been a victim of that oppression and violence in silence." She was not guilty, she wrote. "The only killing in my life was the death of a passive woman named Ginny Foat, before the birth of a strong feminist by the same name."

Looking for adventure.

The story of the "passive woman" began in New Paltz, N.Y. Virginia Eleanor Galluzzo was a popular member of the high school class of 1959. She worked in a diner at night and sang in the school chorus. Her jet black hair was shoulder-length, worn loosely at times, often pulled back to show off strong, expressive features.

New Paltz was not Ginny Galluzzo's idea of adventure, so she headed for Manhattan and stewardess school. For a time, she flew for the old Allegheny Airlines, but at 19, like many of her classmates, she returned home to marry a schoolmate. And the decision taught her an early lesson in practical feminism:

when she married, she lost her job. "They didn't allow flight attendants to be married in those days," Daniel Angelillo, her first husband recalled.

After they were married, Ginny worked at a nearby school for emotionally disturbed boys. Angelillo remembers her as being independent and strong-willed, even then, with a growing interest in civil rights. But after two years, they drifted apart and the marriage was annulled.

Soon after, Ginny met a bartender named John (Jack) Sidote. Sidote was married at the time, but Ginny was at

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tracted. He was a few years older, had played high school football and had served in the Marines. In New Paltz, he is remembered as "a very good bartender, and a chap who could handle himself in a fight." A neighbor recalled, "He liked women, that's for sure."

Ginny's friends think she saw Sidote as a ticket to adventure. "He was very charming, exciting, romantic—the kind of guy you might run off with when you're in your 20s," Jan Holden, a film writer and a close friend of Foat's, said. "The choices many of us made at 24 we couldn't live with today."

"It was the middle '60s and everyone was hitching across the country. Many of us worked as waitresses, the way Ginny did in New Orleans. It was a period when people were getting out on the road. And for Ginny, Sidote represented romance, especially since her parents didn't approve of him," Holden said.

So in the summer of 1965 Ginny and Jack Sidote took off in a white convertible, heading south to New Orleans. Eventually, they ended up in California, where they married and ran a bar together. Six months later, Sidote shot and killed someone who he claimed was trespassing. In August 1967, Sidote was charged with first degree murder and sentenced to six months to 25 years for manslaughter.

By 1970, the Sidote marriage was over and Ginny had moved to Canada, where she married Ray Foat, a Vancouver businessman. She found a new career in the catering business. They later moved to California, where Ginny encountered another lesson in sex discrimination: it was not easy for a woman to get financial credit at the time.

"It was the thing that got her to her first NOW meeting, her inability to get

credit without a man's signature, even though she had the same credentials as her male partner," Jean Conger, another friend, recalled. The encounter was an early consciousness-raising experience, and by 1974 Ginny was an active NOW member in the San Fernando Valley.

Meanwhile, for Sidote trouble had become a coast-to-coast proposition. According to California authorities, he served prison time from 1968 to 1970, returning to New York State in 1971. Off parole that year, he was arrested again in 1973 on a burglary charge.

Birth of a feminist.

During the past three years, Foat's work in the women's movement has been all-consuming, although she was taking off-campus college courses and hoped to enter law school. She worked for the ERA and headed a NOW "Women in Prison" task project in 1979, campaigning for better prison conditions. The movement became her social life.

"When you're active like Ginny, all your friends are movement friends," said Conger, a former NOW officer.

The marriage to Ray Foat ended in 1979, but they parted amicably. Ray Foat moved to Hawaii and Ginny became more deeply involved in politics. The following year, in fact, she served as a delegate to the Democratic National Convention.

In 1981, Foat did try matrimony again, marrying "an older man" in the entertainment field, her friends say cryptically. The marriage lasted eight months. Since then, the women's movement demanded 60 to 80 hours a week of Foat's time, until the morning of January 11. Running for the NOW vice-presidency at the 1982 conference in Indianapolis, Foat was a controversial figure, opposing the slate headed by Judy Goldsmith.

It was that opposition that brought her into conflict with Shelly Mandell, her friends say. Ironically, just a few years before, Mandell, Foat and Jan Holden had considered buying a restaurant together. At the time, they made discreet inquiries into each other's backgrounds since a liquor license was involved. "Everything came back clean then," Holden recalled.

But this time, the outcome was different. When the Mandell inquiry came in, Louisiana claims that the name "Galluzzo" popped up in its computer and brought forth the long-forgotten felony warrant.

Louisiana officials insist, however, that through some confusion, they did not know who Ginny Foat was or where she was—not until the Mandell inquiry came in December and, coincidentally, John Sidote was arrested again on January 4.

The case against Foat apparently rests solely on the testimony of Sidote, prompting Foat's friends to ask two questions: why would Sidote wait so long, and what does he have to gain?

Nevada officials say that Sidote faced the prospect of completing two consecutive sentences when his parole was officially revoked in February. But the balance of one 10-year sentence, which includes "good time served," expired in March and the other, a 15-year term, will be "up for review" by the parole

board in August. In exchange for his testimony, John Sidote could be home for Christmas.

Midge Costanza put it this way: "I know the games people play. You're charged with a crime and the first thing you do is implicate someone else, to create a situation to make a deal. It doesn't always mean you get justice but it happens."

Costanza also warned that Louisiana was alien territory, not friendly to feminists. Her concern was not welcomed by Robert Glass, Foat's New Orleans attorney, known for handling unpopular causes. "The case is a defensible case, but any case can be made indefensible," says Glass. "And every time someone says that you can't get a fair trial in Louisiana, it does not help."

But Ginny Foat is sure she will be exonerated. "We just hope the people in Louisiana are just and fair," Foat's friend Holden said.

And what if Foat is guilty? Her most ardent supporters have a response to that jarring, bottom-line question.

"I don't think she ought to stand trial," one of her California friends said. "What do we really want from our prisons—to rehabilitate people. Well, after 18 years, Ginny Foat is rehabilitated no matter what she might have done." ■

Dave Behrens is a staff writer for Newsday.

Summit

Continued from page 3
determine the implications of East-West trade. Two of the studies are now in. An OECD study showed no clear trade advantages to the East over the West and an American Office of Technology Assessment study showed that even the most stringent trade measures would not effect the transfer of military technology.

These studies make the U.S. position even less tenable, since the U.S. must now object to European trade with the Soviet Union on the sole ground that it increases economic ties between them—hardly a compelling objection in light of American-Soviet grain deals.

Debts and protectionism.

The Reagan administration has indicated that its main priorities at Williamsburg will be protectionism and Third World debt. According to the Wallis memorandum, the administration will try to win agreement on "positive steps to fight protectionism" and "a set of principles to guide our collective approach to problems of international debt in finance." The U.S. will probably win some agreements on both.

In prior discussions of Third World debt, the U.S. has opposed collective relief, but last summer's Mexican crisis as well as looming crises in South America, Africa and Eastern Europe have converted the administration to an activist stance. The nations at Williamsburg can be expected to embrace proposals

strengthening international lending institutions. Of course neither the U.S. nor its allies is ready to consider the kind of Marshall Plan for the Third World advocated by the Brandt commission.

On trade issues there is little likelihood of general disagreement since leaders of the major powers agree that free trade is desirable. But if the discussion gets down to specifics, it is unlikely that any agreement will emerge.

While the American, British and West German governments have been trumpeting the virtues of free trade, the U.S. and Western Europe have been erecting trade barriers against Japan and Third World countries as well as against each other. According to Brookings Institution economist William Cline, non-tariff forms of protection now cover 34 percent of goods imported to the U.S. And world trade itself declined in 1982—the first time since World War II.

Most of the debate about free trade has taken place within the seven nations rather than among them. In the U.S., the Democratic Party, led by former Vice-President Walter Mondale, is moving tentatively toward a position that combines protectionism and limited forms of national planning. In Great Britain, the Cambridge Economic Policy Group has argued that Britain should erect tariffs to protect its industry.

Any proposal for a new economic order would have to focus on the relation between trade and Third World debt. If world trade does not increase, Third World nations will not acquire the income to pay their debts. Yet only superficial discussion of this relationship can be expected at Williamsburg. ■

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DISARMAMENT

East Germany unsure how to deal with peace protesters

By Eric Pooley

NEW YORK

WHEN 14 EAST GERMAN pacifists were jailed early this year, it looked as if the uneasy truce between the government and the independent peace movement had come to an end. Since the spring of 1982 the East German Democratic Republic government had tolerated semi-public peace workshops and even religious peace festivals. On those occasions, the movement's opposition to American and Soviet nuclear weapons was couched in vague, non-confrontational terms and festival organizers were protected by the influential Protestant Church.

But last Christmas Eve, when 75 pacifists met without Church backing in the Jena market square for a moment of silence for peace, compromise gave way to confrontation. The turnout would have been greater—as it had been for a similar silent moment in November—if the state hadn't banned the demonstration in advance. As soon as the committed and the curious began to gather in the square, Volks-police and state security agents arrived to break up the demonstration and disperse onlookers.

During the next week, the apartments of at least 20 peace activists were searched. Fourteen of them—including leaders of the silent moment—were interrogated, dismissed from their jobs and arrested. Two were sentenced up to three years.

In late February, most observers were astonished when the 14 pacifists were set free. Their release was the direct result of an intense public-opinion campaign—a barrage of petitions and protest letters from East and West Germany, Austria, Holland and Sweden. The success of this pan-European protest, one of the first to include peace activists in both East and West blocs, indicates that some East European governments may be more vulnerable to public pressure than many Westerners believe.

"There is a border," wrote 18 East Germans in a February joint letter to Protestant Church officials, "beyond which silence becomes complicity." Their letter, which criticized the Church's decision not to denounce the arrests, was smuggled across the border and published later that month in the West German newspaper *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. It soon became clear that if the East German Church would no longer stand up for pacifists' rights, the force of public opinion in East and West would. More than 1,000 West Germans—including political and labor leaders, writers and academics—signed an appeal for the release of the Jena 14. And hundreds of others in East Germany and across Western Europe sent letters to East Germany's representative in Bonn, to the Party leadership in East Berlin and to the prison in Jena where the pacifists were being held.

In response, the government tried to bluff its way out in mid-February: "In the German Democratic Republic," the official press agency announced, "no single citizen, critical artist [or] young worker has been arrested because he stood up for peace."

But when articles began to appear in late February and early March in the West German press, the East German government became anxious since West German television reaches into most East German homes.

This public relations campaign proved to be too little too late; the identities of the jailed pacifists had already been publicized across Europe. (Michael Rost, an organizer of the moment of silence, had

been fined 750 marks and jailed in January, along with Petra Falkenberg, who had written a letter to East German leader Erich Honecker protesting new laws authorizing the military conscription of women from 18 to 50 years of age during "times of emergency." [Hundreds of East German women signed the letter; Falkenberg and another organizer were jailed; the West German Green Party arranged to have the letter published in the newsmagazine *Der Spiegel*.] Other imprisoned pacifists included Peter Kahler, a dissident songwriter who performed frequently at peace festivals around the country; Frank Rub, a poet and painter whose antiwar art is often exhibited in peace seminars and church meeting-houses; Michael Blumhagen, a conscientious objector sentenced to three years in prison; and Roland Jahn, a warehouseman given 22 months for turning a Communist Party propaganda poster into an independent peace movement collage.)

The East German government never admitted that the pacifists had been jailed. It merely released them suddenly, and without explanation, and let them return to their jobs in early March. "The entire movement against militarism in East Germany was supposed to be hit [by the arrests]," wrote Uwe Trieschmann, a West German pacifist with close ties to Eastern

ernment crackdown on independent pacifists had backfired. Repression also bred resistance in February of last year, soon after some 5,000 pacifists met in Dresden for East Germany's first unauthorized peace rally. Alarmed by the pacifists' hard-nosed rejection of Warsaw Pact defense policy—"Shouldn't we begin to count our own rockets?"—the state arrested 80 pacifists. Like the Jena 14, these activists were interrogated, their apartments searched and their travel visas revoked. But unlike the Jena 14, the Dresden dissidents were detained for only a short time.

Although their arrest attracted relatively little attention in the West, it galvanized the East German movement, helped recruit new members and groups and finally led to huge rallies in Eisenach, Potsdam and other cities in June of last year.

Those large rallies coincided with the sudden release of West German Uwe Trieschmann, who was arrested in East Germany in January 1982 and sentenced to five and a half years for "espionage" because of his contact with East German pacifists. His arrest was the first to unleash public outrage in the West, and his unexpected release was the first sign that the East German government could be forced to respond to public pressure.

The East German government is sen-



peace groups, in a letter to West German peace movement leaders. "But the release had the opposite effect: young pacifists in both Germanys were heartened [in their work]."

The arrest and subsequent release of the Jena 14 was not the first time a gov-

The arrest and later release of the Jena 14 was not the first time that a government crackdown on pacifist dissidents had backfired.

sitive to bad press because it shares a language with its capitalist rival to the West, and the TV and radio waves that beam over the border require the government to anticipate and reply to Western media accounts of Eastern events. But if bad press and public pressure can open East German prison doors, can they penetrate the corridors of power deeply enough to change official policy? Can East European regimes—can the Kremlin—be affected by any popular movement, given the bitter lessons of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland?

Many East German pacifists think so. Because of the peculiar looking-glass relationship between the two Germanys, because of their common, if severed, culture, history and language, they provide the best chance for communication between pacifists in East and West. "Solidarity over the border is imperative," wrote East and West peace leaders in a West German newspaper in March.

Pan-Germanic solidarity is slowly developing, despite great obstacles, in a number of ways. Delegations of West German pacifists traveled this spring to East Germany and met with movement leaders. Behind closed doors, they hammered out a common platform—opposition to the nuclear arsenals of both power blocs, eventual withdrawal of Soviet

and American weapons and troops from both Germanys and a commitment to peace that transcends questions of capitalism and Communism.

Speakers at Easter rallies in West Germany this year described in glowing terms how the force of public opinion had freed the Jena pacifists, and predicted that continued solidarity between East and West might bring further softening of official East German policies. West German press reports were more cautious, saying that the East German government was apparently "reacting to the signs of the times" and perhaps "moving away from its hardened positions." But all of this optimism was shaken in late April when word of another wave of arrests leaked out of the country.

Details remain sketchy, but it appears that another nine independent pacifists are now behind bars. These include two married couples who lead peace groups in the city of Cottbus: Peter and Petra Knotter, and Frank and Krista Fischer; a truck driver named Reinhard Lenzka, jailed for his refusal to participate in compulsory military-reserve training; and Uwe Keller, a political songwriter who has long been a fixture on the East Berlin dissident art scene. Keller was given up to six years for "anti-socialist agitation."

It seems likely that the East German state is trying to appease Western opinion by releasing the Jena 14 while continuing to intimidate Eastern pacifists by additional arrests. But the latest arrests have already renewed protests in East and West. A group headquartered in Dortmund, West Germany, called the Committee for the Defense of Democratic Rights and Freedoms has launched

Hopes are rising that a peace movement spanning both Germanys can be built.

a petition and letter-writing campaign. And on June 17, the anniversary of the general strike and insurrection that wracked East Berlin in 1953, West German pacifists will meet in Berlin with recent East German emigres to discuss the political situation and search for ways to carry their bilateral work further. At the top of their agenda will be a proposed "Whole-German Peace Conference," a meeting in West Berlin of movement leaders from East and West. Although it is unlikely that East German peace leaders will be able to attend a conference in the West, the fact that the issue is being addressed points to the quantum leap the association of pacifists in East and West has taken.

Vacillation between compromise and confrontation has been the East German government's official response to a peace movement that rejects the Soviet version of reality and that began to pick up steam 16 months ago. But now that Western Europe has noticed the East German pacifists and has begun to look for ways to contact and support them, their government may discover that, despite the latest crackdown, the rules of the game have changed.

Eric Pooley has written for *The Progressive*, *World View* magazine and the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*.

LETTERS

In These Times is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

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KEEP UP THE EXCELLENT COVERAGE, particularly the European scene, also Central America and, of course, the American labor scene. Your paper is absolutely essential to the development of a viable left in this country. Hell, your paper is absolutely essential in just helping to understand current (and past and future) world, domestic and economic affairs. With that in mind, here's my pledge to become a Sustainer. And thanks for "Sylvia."

—Mark C. Maniak
New York

FAITHFUL

I HAVE YOUR REQUEST FOR A CONTRIBUTION to *In These Times* and, as a faithful reader, I make haste to comply. Herewith a modest token of my appreciation.

—John Kenneth Galbraith
Cambridge, Mass.

ZIONIST RAG, YET

I DO NOT CARE IF A ZIONIST, DSA-Democratic paper like yours goes under or not. Stop supporting Israeli imperialism!

—Ed Custer
Timonium, Md.

HYPERBOLE

SO MITCHELL KAIDY (LETTERS, *ITT*, March 23) discerns hypocrisy in condemning neo-Nazi revisionism without also condemning Israel? Let's see if he discerns anything neo-Nazi in the following:

In Hama, Syria, last spring, the special forces of Rifrat Assad (brother of dictator Hafez Assad) carried out a mini-Babi Yar where between 5,000 and 20,000 persons, mostly religious Moslems, were slaughtered. They were killed because Hama had been a hotbed of

Moslem fundamentalism and opposition to the Syrian regime. Kaidy doesn't believe it? It's up to him. Satellite photos taken by U.S. intelligence agencies have confirmed the massive destruction there.

Am I the only person who feels that a certain hyperbole is used in denunciation of Israel which is not used in denunciations of the Arab states? Is Mitchell Kaidy listening? Or is he indifferent to the outright murder of thousands of Arabs by other Arabs?

—Jonathan Mark
Charlottesville, Va.

GENEALOGY

AS AN ACTIVE UNION MEMBER, I detect an important similarity in James Weinstein's assertion (*ITT*, April 6) that "the common ancestry of democratic socialists and the Communists of the Soviet Union requires us to acknowledge the connection while explaining why we can reasonably expect to do better."

Union organizers have long had to contend with a public misconception that sees unions as corrupt. A hostile media reinforces this misconception by putting undue emphasis on sensational stories of corruption in a few unions. It would be foolish for a union organizer to deny the "common ancestry" of a democratic union with those unions that deserve reputations for corruption. Instead, the organizer must "acknowledge the connection" while explaining the democratic traditions of the trade unions taken as a whole.

It is certainly true, of course, that it is an easier task to convince the public of the merits of a union than it is to sell the idea of democratic socialism. For one, the vast majority of unions do, indeed, have democratic traditions; the same cannot be said of nations using the socialist label.

In my opinion, the Soviet Union and other Communist nations have a legitimate claim to the socialist name, just

as a corrupt union has the right to call itself a union. As democratic socialists it is our obligation to convince the public of our commitment to democracy and to continue to follow the democratic tradition that was the hallmark of the socialist movement prior to the Russian Revolution.

—Rich Smith
Yakima, Wash.

MORE

I ESPECIALLY ENJOY YOUR FOREIGN coverage and would like to see more of it, since that is something difficult to find anywhere else. Even the *New York Times* does not really offer what you do, since their coverage is so often subject to federal propaganda. Keep up the good work.

—Joel Hildebrandt
Nyack, N.Y.

MEMORIALS?

THE POLITICAL GENERATION IN ITS '70s and '80s now passing away before our eyes is among the most important in U.S. radical history. Its members fought through the Depression, the Cold War, the rise of the Civil Rights and antiwar movements—and its veterans carry on to this day. But only a few papers (like the Communist Party's *Daily World*) report the demise of the unfamous local rank-and-filers. Not only do they deserve the tribute, but their stories offer a kaleidoscope of little-known history. Why can't *ITT* run a semi-monthly "In Memoriam" column open to short, factual contributions about Wobblies, Socialists, ex-Communists, religious radicals and others who have kept the faith to the end?

—Paul Buhle
Director, Oral History of the American Left
Tamiment Library, New York University

LUDDICROUS?

GARY FIELDS FEEDS US A MECHANICAL line in his robotics article (*ITT*, May 11). His remark, "The real question does not concern the technology per se but rather the structure of control over this technology," is right in step with our society's reverence for technological development.

I recommend he read David F. Noble's "Present Tense Technology" article in *Democracy* (Spring). Noble reveals that from the Luddites' smashing of the mills in the early 19th century the technology question has been removed from the concrete and the present tense. As historian Maxine Berg has noted, "The machine was not an impersonal achievement to those living through the Industrial Revolution, it was an issue...it still seemed possible to halt the process of rapid technological change."

For Fields it seems no longer to be an issue: "50,000 additional auto workers will lose their jobs in the next 10 years due to the new implementation of robots.... The needs of American industry to compete by raising productivity must take precedence over any possible dislocating side effects (management's position)." From these two observations Fields moves toward this conclusion: "Industrial robots hold the promise of relieving industrial workers of the many routine and even dangerous tasks they perform.... On the other hand, it is quite clear that if workers do not have control over this technology they will end up victimized by it."

No analyzing the worth of this technology! That would be "Luddicrous." After all, robots will "free" us from arduous labor. Shall we now equate "freedom" with unemployment and the poverty of belly and soul unemployment fosters. Is all remedied as soon as workers have control over this technology? Or do they then merely obtain the console seat, transforming themselves from victim to victimizer?

In *The Pentagon of Power*, Lewis Mumford wrote, "Genuine progress involves continuity and conservation,

above all, conscious anticipation and rational selection." At least let us strive for some control over the structure of technology as well as over the structure of its control.

—Bill Meinders
Denver, Colo.

EMMA

I READ KAREN ROSENBERG'S "RED Emma" (*ITT*, May 4) with great interest since Emma Goldman has fascinated me ever since I found out who she was a little over a year ago. I have read everything I could lay my hands on.

When I read, however, that "...the public was shocked by her support of freedom to practice prostitution, abortion and birth control..." I mentally said to myself, "and was continually misrepresented in the press of her day and here it is happening again." I think the statement would certainly lead to misunderstanding. Emma never supported prostitution; in fact, she saw it as one of the worst examples of exploitation inherent in a capitalist system. She commented that while prostitutes were rounded up by the police and jailed, those who sought their services were not touched. In her day, a "good" woman looked down on a prostitute and Emma combatted that attitude by showing aspects of prostitution in marriage. She always saw social outcasts as the victims of an oppressive society and responded to their innate humanity in a way few others did (or do).

However, I am glad that Emma appeared in your pages, and that Rosenberg wrote such a stimulating article about her.

—Lea Wood
Aptos, Calif.

FINAL BID

HARVEY WASSERMAN'S REVIEW OF three books on native peoples (*ITT*, May 2) gives a timely counter to Secretary of the Interior Watt's statement that the problem with Indians now is that they live under "socialism." But two points should have been made.

Any praise of Benjamin Franklin's admiration of the democratic practices of the Iroquois (as described in Johansen's *Forgotten Founders*) must be balanced by the knowledge that he stole Indian lands. As an agent of the Walpole Company, he bribed dozens of British officials until 1775 in an attempt to take over 20 million acres of native lands. This, along with similar thefts by other Founding Fathers, was one reason why no Indian tribe of consequence joined the rebels against the British. As Pachganschilas said then, "[The colonists] will, in their usual way, speak fine words to you, and at the same time, murder you!"

More important for us now, readers of Mattheissen's *In the Spirit of Crazy Horse* and Weyler's *Blood of the Land* should be aware that what may be Leonard Peltier's final bid for justice in U.S. courts is occurring. Letters supporting an evidentiary hearing (allowing the introduction of 18,000 pages of materials uncovered using the FOIA) should be sent immediately to: Chief Judge Donald P. Lay, 8th Circuit Court of Appeals, Rm. 511, 1114 Market St., St. Louis, MO 63101.

Letters asking for a House Judiciary Sub-committee investigation into Peltier's case on the grounds of violation of Constitutional rights and FBI misconduct should also be sent. Write: Rep. Don Edwards, House Judiciary Committee, Rm. A-407, House Office Building Annex, Washington, DC 20515.

Leonard Peltier committed no crime, as Mattheissen's book shows; a fair trial would set him free.

—M. Treloar
Chicago

CORRECTIONS

The photo of Rank and File, page 20, in Volume 7, Number 24, was taken by Paul Natkin.

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STT1

PERSPECTIVES

Real options in El Salvador

By Alexander Cockburn
& James Ridgeway

SO WHAT, IN THE LAST ANALYSIS, are the options for the Reagan administration in El Salvador? The president's recent speech to the joint session of Congress was short on specifics, apart from the emphatic statement—rapturously received—that U.S. soldiers would not be sent to El Salvador because it is not another Vietnam. (The fact that U.S. military personnel have already been sent to the area merely underscores the widening gap—reminiscent of Vietnam—between official protestations and the truth.)

Right now U.S. strategy in El Salvador is following the trend of "pacification" schemes in Vietnam. The U.S. seeks to train progressively larger segments of the Salvadoran army, erode the social and political structures of the guerrillas in provinces where there is little military activity, and substitute "civic action" schemes along the old Vietnam model: army-organized programs for building roads, houses, schools, etc.

This sort of "civic action" is extremely expensive and could by itself fully account for the \$110 million so desperately sought by the Reagan administration from Congress. It goes hand-in-hand with the military search-and-destroy sweeps—once again familiar from Vietnam.

The estimate in Washington is that the administration will in the end get about half the money it is requesting, which will not be enough to implement the policy outlined above. So the war will continue, in a pattern favorable to the guerrillas. At some point Reagan will have to choose between victory for the guerrillas or sending in U.S. combat troops. Specialists in the area figure it's a matter of timing: if the decision has to be taken in the middle of the next presidential election campaign—i.e., after next winter—the administration would have a strong temptation to let El Salvador go and blame the Democrats for hogtying the effort.

If the situation holds through November 1984 and a conservative Republican is returned to the White House, then U.S. military intervention will be the order of the day.

Buying time.

Last week we discussed the diplomatic scenario with William Leogrande, professor of political science at American University and an important analyst and

spokesman for the opposition to the Reagan administration. Leogrande outlined another possible U.S. option, which he strongly doubts the hardliners in the White House would accept, but which he suspects Thomas Enders, key State Department strategist for Central America, has urged on Reagan policymakers such as William Clark and Jeane Kirkpatrick as an alternative.

"They would say to the Salvadoran government, 'Look, agree to unconditional dialog [with the guerrillas]. Just agree to it. You come with your agenda, which is nothing but elections. The guerrillas come with their agenda, which is to restructure the army. And you argue about it forever. You don't have to give any ground. Meanwhile, we can go to the Congress and say negotiations are under way, don't cut back military aid now. The guerrillas won't negotiate seriously.' Reagan could undermine his congressional opposition 50, 60, 70 percent that way, and give himself a couple of more years while negotiations drag on. Meanwhile, they can continue fighting the war the way they want to."

"But the problem with this is that the really hardline people in the White House are afraid that any indication of weakness—they regard any giving of ground on negotiations as an indication of weakness—is going to accelerate the deterioration of their position, rather than help it. Second, they are afraid the Salvadoran government will fall apart, and that's a real possibility."

Assuming that between \$50 million and \$60 million is finally approved by Congress, what effect will this have militarily, aside from the civic programs?

Right now the Salvadoran government forces are losing the war. Why?

• Corruption: Robert White, former U.S. ambassador to El Salvador, said recently that officers are selling guns and ammunition to the other side before the crates are even opened. In the U.S., the depressed condominium market is finding new customers in the shape of Salvadoran officers and oligarchs buying condos in Miami and Houston. (Thus, it could be argued that U.S. aid to El Salvador is at least a concealed subsidy to the U.S. housing industry.)

• Salvadoran government forces are still ignoring U.S. military advice, by continuing to operate as an elephant army, moving in ponderous lunges against elusive, small bands of guerrillas, and are being ambushed in consequence. But the sociology of Salvadoran army corruption requires these large-scale operations, as they involve the deployment of large

Opposition to Reagan's policies may prevent full-scale intervention.

amounts of saleable material—everything from food to fodder. They are booty-intensive.

• Cronyism goes hand-in-hand with corruption. Field commanders are often incompetent, as U.S. military advisers readily acknowledge. And political loyalty takes precedence over military expertise. The officers are fighting a 9-to-5 war.

• Morale: the guerrillas have adopted an intelligent policy of taking prisoners, treating them well, exposing them to life in liberated areas, and releasing them in public ceremonies to the International Red Cross. As a result, 17-year-old conscripts, many of whom were pressed into the government forces on their way home from the market, are surrendering in droves. As a Salvadoran army field commander told a recent visitor in Morozan, "a soldier released is a soldier lost to the government. They've all been brainwashed."

The Reagan administration is trumpeting the substitution of General Vides Casanova for General Guillermo Garcia as minister of defense. There is talk of an

end to corruption. Casanova is boosted as the "new man" of the Salvadoran military, who will replace inefficient field commanders, root out cronyism, restore morale and trounce the foe while respecting human rights.

This is all nonsense, of course. Politically, Casanova is even further to the right than Garcia. In an interview he gave just before being made minister, Casanova refused to go on record as favoring agrarian reform and extolled the mass-murderer Roberto d'Aubuisson. Casanova's military prowess has been derogated by one and all, and it is ludicrous to mention human rights in the context of a man who himself was head of the National Guard, killer of nuns, torturer and suspected disappearer of persons ever since the coup of 1979.

The only vista of hope available to the government militarily is training, and, in essence, the creation of a new army. But do they have the time? The guerrillas' offensive, begun last fall, has not slowed down. There have been no military reverses for the guerrillas, although it remains to be seen how the deaths of two top commanders of the FPL will affect that group's performance in the field. This last weekend they staged dramatic actions in La Union, a province that had never seen significant guerrilla activity.

Many observers believe that as the situation erodes, at least a section of the armed forces will split off, abandon the foundering ship, stage a coup and then seek negotiations with the guerrillas. At this point a U.S. administration would have the option of going along politically or going in militarily. This decision will of course depend on what the administration thinks will be tolerable not only to the U.S. electorate but also to governments throughout the hemisphere. Brazil, it should be noted, has indicated its opposition to the present course of U.S. policy, and is edging toward the Mexican position in favor of negotiations.

Alexander Cockburn and James Ridgeway write for the Village Voice, where this article originally appeared.

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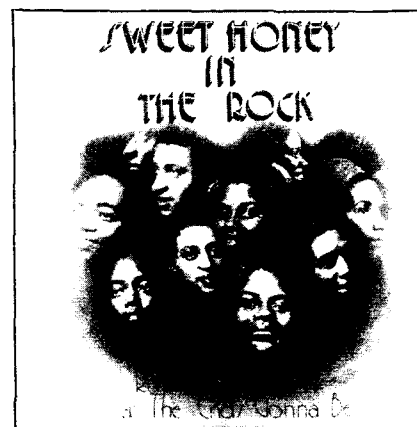
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PERSPECTIVES

Office high tech is not here for good

By Karen Nussbaum

THE UTOPIAN VIEW OF THE office of the future presented by management consultants, combined with unrealistic visions of greatly increased productivity by employers, has produced high tech myopia. And it appears to be catching. Politicians from "Atari Democrats" to President Reagan have latched on to new technology as the answer to present unemployment and business stagnation. Few seem to have second thoughts, or indeed, primary ones about what automation means in our lives.

As the head of the 12,000-member office workers organization, 9 to 5, and also as president of District 925, SEIU, an office workers union, I come into contact with a disturbing picture of the new technology from the real users—the nearly all-female clericals who sit at the estimated 10 million video display terminals (VDTs) already in use in the U.S. Most of these women view their newly automated jobs with fear for their health, bitter disillusion and frustration. Far from being liberating, challenging or filled with opportunity, time and again their work becomes routinized, regimented and unbearably stressful.

In 1948, manufacturing employment accounted for about one in three jobs in the U.S. Today, fewer than one in four workers are employed in goods-production. Clericals have supplanted factory workers as the largest—and still growing—occupational group in the U.S. There are 18 to 19 million workers in clerical jobs today. If automation causes a reduction in labor requirements of 25 to 30 percent, as some European studies predict, where will new jobs be found? What kinds of jobs will those with jobs have? And who will have these jobs?

According to IBM, by 1985 40 percent of the total workforce will be employed in jobs primarily involved in information-processing. The key piece of hardware in the information-processing office of the future is the VDT, the TV-like computer display screen attached to a keyboard. VDTs, in ever-increasing capacity, are capable of data retention, retrieval and a host of manipulations at the touch of a button.

When VDTs are introduced into the office setting, jobs are redesigned so that functions previously performed manually or mechanically can be done by computer. This process, as presently implemented, most often builds in increased "rationalization." In countless banks and insurance companies a traditional clerical job with some variety—typing, correspondence, scheduling, filing, phoning—is broken down into its smallest component parts. One person then performs one small task over and over, often at a pace set by the computer and monitored electronically.

The result is hundreds of "data processing clericals" or "production" workers who spend seven or eight hours a day "keying in" or "inputting" one small bit of information thousands of times a day. You don't have to be a college graduate to find such work grueling and unrewarding.

As such job transformations have occurred, complaints from workers have surfaced and 9 to 5 has repeatedly challenged the regimentation, monotony and physical health problems associated with

automated work. Recently a new field of employment has opened up to respond: Human Factors Specialists. Touting such concepts as "high tech/high touch society" and "user friendly equipment," these consultants would have us believe that high technology requires and brings with it a high regard and concern for the human and interactive elements in work. This is good public relations, but many employers by word and action demonstrate a different position.

Said one manager of a corporation to me: "What I want is for my computer-aided drafting machine in the office to speak directly to the robot on the shop floor. That's how I'll take care of human factor problems."

Between a PR plan that seeks only to quell complaints and a management goal that seeks to eliminate labor, we must look at the hard question: is job loss and job degradation the only choice in the office of the future?

The purpose of the machine.

The aim of all machinery, mechanical or electronic, is elimination of labor. And there are disturbing examples of job elimination already. An experiment at Citibank's Letter of Credit Department had a "pay-off" of a reduced staff by 29.6 percent. The federal government itself provides an interesting example. In the last 30 years the budget of the government increased some 100 percent. Employment increased just 25 percent. And the use of computers increased 5,000 percent.

At present, such developments are hardly felt, in part because business is not yet fully automated. A displaced clerical can find another job elsewhere, as the demand for clerical work continues to expand. This expansion of the clerical sector masks, for now, the job loss due directly to automation in individual companies. In addition, during this stage of automation, there is a high demand for workers to transfer paper files to computer. Key entry work abounds. But this demand will not last.

A European study predicts enormous office work displacement, estimating up to a 30 percent reduction in the need for clericals in the finance industries in France by 1990. The International Federation of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees (FIET) predicts that for white collar employment, "There is likely to be a cumulative employment impact hitting one sector at a time, but building up over a 10 year period."

Here in the U.S. we have not studied the possibility of massive job loss predicted in Europe. The U.S. Department of Labor has not yet developed methods for such projections and, at this moment, with the effects of automation on employment not being felt, the need does not seem urgent.

The quality of the remaining jobs.

9 to 5's members' experience suggests that clerical jobs as we know them now may be drastically altered. In part, this has nothing to do with the technology itself, but with deeply ingrained social biases about clerical work. Most often, it is viewed as low-level function, and disorganized function at that. The intellectual and decision-making components of clerical work are overlooked.

And yet, these processes are at the heart of most clerical jobs in the service industries. Dr. Eleanor Wynn, a social scientist now with Bell Northern Research, Inc., of California, puts it this way: "Many people involved in the auto-

mation of office work continue to hold an implicit model of the office work environment as consisting of objects to be assembled (documents to be produced, messages to be delivered, informational 'paths' and 'nodes' to be reproduced) as if these were the same kinds of objects that are manipulated in the factory environment." It is really no wonder that clerical work viewed as function alone produces, in the automated setting, a mentality that sees any given clerical job as a series of tasks to be accomplished in the most rapid possible manner. Procedures are seen as the heart of productivity, just as on the assembly line, and quality of service is overlooked.

Part and parcel of this outlook is another trend in automating office work: "suburbanization." Suburbanization is taking full-time office positions, retitling them and relocating the new automated jobs outside the city. Blue Cross of Massachusetts provides a good example of this. Over a year ago, Blue Cross moved some 90 claims processing jobs to suburban Plymouth, 80 miles outside the city. The work, retitled "production," was given to local suburban women. Blue Cross hired two shifts of women to work 30 hours a week and provided them with no benefits. Blue Cross has two other such "production" facilities, in Rock-

Displacement of 30 percent of office workers is likely with the new technology, but efficiency may not be improved.

land, Mass., and in Biddeford, Maine, and has plans to create a total of 800 such part-time positions over the next two years.

Suburbanization illustrates the concern 9 to 5 has about the polarization of the office employment structure, at least partly conscious in nature, where more and more jobs become deskilled and devalued, fewer jobs exist at the top and the middle jobs (so-called "bridge" jobs for clericals) are almost entirely eliminated. One manager describes it as the "Mae West" profile of employment. Management benefits from this as many different clerical functions are homogenized into information-processing at computer terminals, jobs become more interchangeable. The characteristics of a secondary labor market—low-wage, low (or no) benefits, high turnover, non-union, insecure and semi-skilled—are extended to the office. Companies often encourage high turnover in some clerical operations because this practice gives them greater flexibility to reorganize office work as new technology is phased in. The avoidance of wage increases and pensions, and the advantage of an unstable workforce (which is unlikely to organize), outweighs any lost investment in job training.

Another noticeable trend among employers who have automated is "homework"—paid work at a computer terminal in your home and transferring it to the desired location by phone lines. As many as 15 million people could be earning primary incomes doing homework by the '90s, according to a *Business Week* article (May 3, 1982). A 1978 *U.S. News and World Report* article proclaims that such work at "portable terminals will be a special aid to homebound workers, such as mothers with small children," and illustrates the joys of such liberation by showing a commodities investor lying on a Florida beach, his computer terminal beside him on the blanket.

However, the beneficiary of the portable terminal is unlikely to be the worker. Futurist Alvin Toffler puts forth this theory: "low abstraction" (read clerical) workers are ideally suited for homework because such workers don't need to talk to anyone. Presumably clericals can just

turn on the terminal, read the day's assignments off the display and begin to keyboard away. Employers are free to think of this as a happy solution to day care because they will be paying piece-rate, or a newer-sounding name like "work units." You don't have to be a labor historian to see that this picture of homework is about as liberating for the clerical, today's working mother, as the sewing together of dresses and suits at kitchen tables was for garment workers. It is no solution for day care, either, or employers would have had the children join their mothers in the office long ago. Two full-time jobs cannot be done simultaneously.

Long-range job loss can occur another way. Offshore data entry in the form of bulk information-processing has been performed outside the U.S. for some time. The Satellite Data Corporation in New York, for example, relays printed materials via satellite to Barbados where the work is done by data entry clerks who earn about \$1.50 per hour. Satellite Data's chairman George Simpson told a *Business Week* reporter. "We can do the work in Barbados for less than it costs in New York to pay for floor space."

Blue-collar jobs are also under the gun in high tech. Atari's removal of 1,700 assembly jobs to Taiwan and Hong Kong is only the beginning. Last month *Business Week* reported that Hewlett-Packard is building major plants in Mexico and the United Kingdom. It also quoted Bureau of Labor Statistics forecasts that over the next 10 years high tech will create less than half the two million jobs lost in manufacturing. Further, fewer than a third of the estimated .75 to one million new jobs created will be for engineers and high level technicians. The rest will either be for managers or lower level operatives, clericals and assembly personnel.

If this is what's in store in the office of the future, the New Age of Technology looks like some of the worst of the old—a small professional and managerial strata at the top, privileged and well-paid, and a crush of poorer quality, lower-paying jobs at the bottom. And an ever-widening gulf between the two.

What can be done?

We can fight those who are making the decisions about the "new age." First, fight them on their own terms. Automation is sold on the notion that it increases productivity. But productivity in clerical work and in the service sector is still largely hype. There is little commonly accepted quantifiable measure of such productivity, although there begins to be some evidence on the other side. A new (October 1982) study by the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) indicates increased productivity when "ergonomic" (or human factor) considerations are built into the work environment.

We also need to change the terms of the debate so that present methods of automation will be seen as a social issue, not merely a technical one. We are not opposing the inevitable march of science, per se. But office automation is a series of deliberate decisions and these decisions affect our health, quality of work and also impact on job loss at such a massive level that the national economy is involved. These are, therefore, social and moral decisions that call for national public policy.

Finally, we can and must fight at the bargaining table. Through bargaining we can hope to affect the implementation of automation—how it is incorporated into our workplaces and with what guarantees of safety. Across the Atlantic in Europe and Scandinavia, workers have had great impact on the implementation of automation, from stricter safety standards in the manufacture of hardware to job design, training and safety provisions. We can do the same, but only if we act on our right to fight for an office of the future that holds bright promise for the people working in it.

Karen Nussbaum is executive director of 9 to 5, National Association of Working Women and president of District 925, SEIU.

By Jon F. Spayde

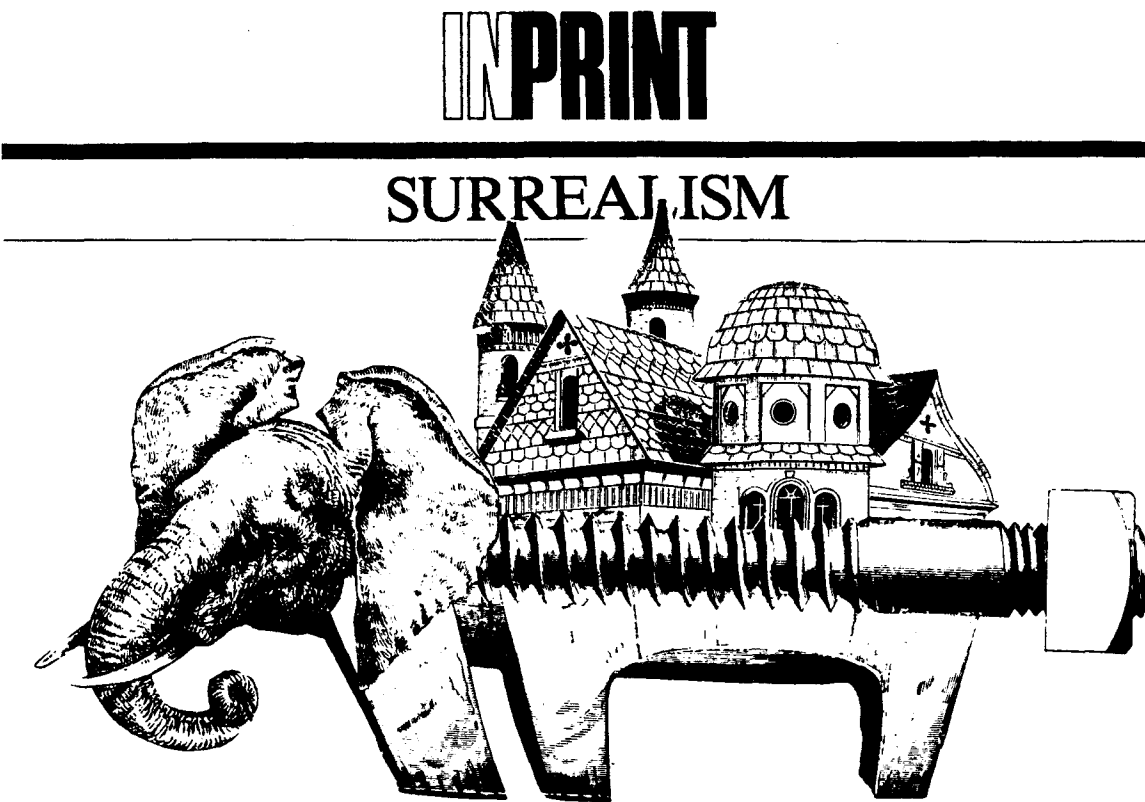
"To reduce the imagination to a state of slavery," wrote surrealist Andre Breton, "...is to betray all sense of absolute justice within oneself." As a movement—as distinct from a mere artistic technique that stressed absolute freeing of the unconscious mind—surrealism was a radical fusion of political, economic and imaginative freedom from the moment of its emergence in the mid-'20s.

Surrealism now.

Of the groups in the U.S. that have labored to keep this resolutely political brand of surrealism alive, the most visible has been a Chicago group led by Franklin and Penelope Rosemont, whose organ is *Arsenal/Surrealist Subversion*. Chicago surrealists also contributed to *Cultural Correspondence*, the now defunct journal of left popular culture edited from Providence, R.I., by Paul Buhle.

The last issue of *Cultural Correspondence*, entitled "Surrealism and Its Popular Accomplishments," wedded Buhle's magazine to *Arsenal*. The result was a long, uneven, often fascinating and often superficial potpourri that embraced both the culture of the left and "mainstream" popular culture.

San Francisco's City Lights Books, long a home for poets with surrealist identifications, picked up "Popular Accomplishments" and issued it as a book. This trans-continental meeting of minds proved stimulating enough to all concerned that City



Joel Williams/Free Spirits

Politics of the unconscious

of materialist and idealist heritages"; "Intersections of unconscious desire and conscious thought."

Ornette Coleman and Edgar Allen Poe.

Perhaps the application of such principles to anthology-editing must inevitably produce a mixed bag. What we have here is a mixture of rubies and rocks. An artistic credo by the great jazz saxo-

tion. In many cases these celebrations rescue obscure gems from oblivion and send the reader off to sample the originals.

The less successful pieces—usually the ones that introduce second-rate figures—can sound like slightly hoarse pep talks. David Roediger's profile of labor activist Covington Hall strives to turn a very straight-forward dreamer-of-a-better-day into a proto-surrealist, while turning a cold shoulder to Hall's most challenging idea: his conception of his native American South as a sort of Third World country and potential ally of revolutionary Mexico.

Rural parochialism.

The modern city is missing from this anthology, unfortunately, as it was not missing from the early Parisian surrealism. There is nothing here on subway-car art, punk and post-punk culture or contemporary styles of music. There is nothing on the delirious urban flow of bodies, machines, shapes, lusts, terrors and pleasures that for Breton and his colleagues was almost identical with the teeming human mind itself. The dominant voices of this anthology are the voices of traditional non-Western rural cultures: small visionary conclaves in the wilderness (Joseph Jablonski's history of the Shakers and the Ephrata mystics of Pennsylvania is one of the best pieces in the collection), rural Wobblies, vagabond hikers and the like.

Of course, this absence of an urban presence is thoroughly in the American grain. After all, we Americans tend to look for the truth far from the wicked city. We like to ride whaling ships, sail river rafts, or retreat to hand-made cottages. Still, there is something unsatisfying about a late 20th-century surrealism that

does not take to the streets for a least a look-around.

This objection aside, the image of traditional culture in *Free Spirits* presents paradoxes that are honestly grappled with in several of the articles. Can small groups of humans align themselves on the basis of a revolutionary sense of the marvelous?

In what ways can such villages go on making revolution? Or does the whole project go against the nature of the small community?

It is the Native American experience that is crucial in answering these questions. Four articles on native culture assert that the people of the plains and pueblos were able to integrate traditionalism and personal vision into a mixture of individual and social values that had room for "the marvelous"—the subconscious imagination and dreams.

Nancy Joyce Peters' interview with filmmaker Pat Ferrero, a high point of the anthology and a key to many of its overriding concerns, tries to bring the issue of traditionalism into the Western cultural orbit. Ferrero's discussion of her film *Quilts in Women's Lives* develops unexpected aspects of the experience of sewing and sleeping under the beautiful quilts of the Euro-American rural tradition. At one point Peters squares off about problems that such works of art pose for the avant-garde attitude. "It is ridiculous to hold that there is progress in the arts," she asserts, "as though there were an ascending scale from neolithic cave paintings to contemporary minimalism. Now, originality as a return to origins suggests where the subtleties of tradition become worth reconsidering. How does a desirable society balance the claims of the individual and the community? The tension of that effort gives traditional arts a volcanic presence. I sense in quilts the compressed instinctual vitality, the same subliming, that's in Native American arts, for instance."

Creating tradition anew.

Here we see exactly where surrealism, by championing the presumably "naive" work of tradi-

IN THESE TIMES MAY 24-30, 1983 13
tional societies, has prepared a snare for itself. It is, of course, the *sublimation* that is the key to the "volcanic" effect—creativity in quilting is not an outburst of the id. Psychic flow turns into weird beauty not by virtue of its simple freedom and energy, but rather because it runs into shapes and sizes prescribed by earlier generations.

This is the crux of the dilemma: the world of advanced capitalism demands insurgent, imaginative and unfettered dreaming. Yet those societies in which the dream is most present are ritualized and so profoundly conservative that "insurgency" as we know it is almost impossible. Surrealists and others following the path of traditional societies seem curiously similar to American conservative theorists, as Garry Wills once characterized them: people trying to create something new, which they could one day find worth conserving.

There is a deep and—given the problems sketched above—logical urge in many parts of *Free Spirits* toward a sort of re-tribalization of modern man. In a series of responses to a questionnaire that asks what holidays we will celebrate "after the revolution," a large number envision a return to pagan festivals such as the rites of the solstice and the equinox.

This is not surprising. Even the most extravagant of dreams demand an interpretive community to make them useful and to propagate them. In a sense, that is what the organized surrealist movement has always been: a secular priesthood that interprets fantasy in the terms of political progressivism. Although *Free Spirits* is superficially a celebration of "the radical freedom of the individual" and the compatibility of various philosophical attitudes, at a deeper level it is a fumbling quest for a community. Even if the anthology's images of this community sometimes resemble the Haight-Ashbury of 15 years ago, the quest for a community is still important for the left right now. My own deepest instincts tell me that a left community must make the most of *conscious* thought, contradiction and critique. Deep structures like the dream and the archetype are traditional resources of the ultra-right, too, and there is nothing in

The modern city is missing from this slice of surrealism.

such profundities that demands a liberationist reading. It is no less true, however, that a left community must welcome all of its allies and establish the broadest possible basis for dialog with the national culture, high and low. In this effort, *Free Spirits*, warts and all, invites our attention and criticism.

Jon Spayde, a writer in Iowa City, is working on a novel.

Life and art do not "progress," according to surrealists.



Quiltmaking is offered as a traditional craft that draws on the insurgent imagination.

Lights decided to continue the collaboration in a new journal, *Free Spirits: Annals of the Insurgent Imagination*. The periodical, which was planned as an annual, augments Rosemont's Yankee-style surrealism and Buhle's left cultural history with articles on Asian-American jazz and Native American culture, a manifesto by City Lights publisher Lawrence Ferlinghetti and other pieces with a West Coast stamp. It is an ambitious attempt to bring huge areas of American anti-establishment (as well as non-mainstream) cultural activity into the orbit of surrealism.

A statement of purpose on the back cover of *Free Spirits* sketches the values behind the project: "The radical freedom of the individual"; "The meeting-ground

phonist Ornette Coleman makes us grateful that he spends most of his time making music and not prose. Penelope Rosemont resurrects the unearthly beauty and earthy humor of the prose-poems of Mary MacLane (1881-1929), who badly needs to come back into print. We are not spared the ramblings of one Rusel Jaque, a garden-variety anarcho-vegetarian crank, but we are also given the gift of Angela Carter's haunting biographical myth of the young Edgar Allen Poe.

The overall proportion of actual imaginative texts—poems, prose poetry, fiction—is rather low—about a quarter of the total of pieces. There are no purely theoretical articles, and only one or two that might be called analytical or critical. Most pieces are short prose songs of praise honoring an artist, a bit of popular culture or an aboriginal tradi-

The Oakland Museum/Free Spirits

L. Maud/Free Spirits



ART«»ENTERTAINMENT



Jacobo Timerman, a victim of brutal Argentine oppression, is robbed of some of his heroism in this docudrama because the background is so sketchy.

TELEVISION

Docudrama: horror without a context

By Elizabeth Hanly

After nearly a decade of blood letting, Argentina is now beginning to look at her wounds. And so is prime time U.S. television with the recent NBC docudrama about Jacobo Timerman.

In the mid-'70s, the military junta threw out Isabel Peron's corrupt civilian government and proceeded to answer Argentina's leftist guerrilla threat with one of the most brutal state terrorist operations in modern history.

Disappearances.

Most human rights agencies describe those actions differently. The Organization of American States (OAS) commission on human rights refers to "...a process which dispensed with all legal and moral considerations." Amnesty International more graphically records that: "regularly in various places throughout the country unidentified bodies were found floating in rivers, at the bottom of lakes, decomposing on rubbish dumps or blown to bits in quarries."

From 1976 to 1979, as many as 30,000 Argentines were taken away from homes, workplaces and even restaurants by heavily armed men for "questioning." Most of them never returned. Government officials generally denied any knowledge of these people's whereabouts. Every writ

of *habeus corpus* presented on behalf of the missing was dismissed by the courts after the military refused to give even their hand-picked judiciary access to the records. Each branch of the armed forces had its own list of possible "subversives." To be respected by one group was no guarantee that your name would not appear on another's list.

Terror out of control.

Pat Derian, assistant secretary for human rights in the Carter administration who traveled several times to Argentina, described it this way: "The military didn't know how to stop their campaign once they had begun. I'm not sure they wanted to stop. When officers began to become afraid of each other, even more people were fingered—pawns in their disputes."

Very few Argentines would talk about the disappeared. Those who publicly demanded information about the missing were often ostracized by their families and threatened by the government. Likewise, few Argentine journalists would admit that anything peculiar was happening in their country. Only two Buenos Aires newspapers regularly carried information on the disappeared: the English language *Buenos Aires Herald*, under Robert Cox, and *La Opinion*, when under Jacobo Timerman's direction, before his ab-

duction and the paper's expropriation by the military in 1977. In short, according to Robert Cox, "The silence in Argentina was tremendous."

The NBC docudrama *Jacobo Timerman: Prisoner Without a Name, Cell Without a Number* with Roy Scheider and Liv Ullman aired last Sunday evening. The TV film was based on Timerman's account of his torture and nearly four years of imprisonment without charges by the Argentine military.

Ullman's performance as Timerman's wife added texture and credibility to every scene she was in. Roy Scheider only came alive in the small moments when he played Timerman the man and not the hero.

Any effort to bring this issue to a prime time television audience deserves praise. Yet docudrama director Linda Yellen so protected herself emotionally from the material that she was unable to give it life. Instead, she delivered a nearly one-dimensional hero and a story disjointed from its context.

The film never clearly explains what a disappearance is, nor how it is distinct from that of a political prisoner. Perhaps this is the docudrama's most serious flaw. Although political prisoners usually are not tried or given formal sentences and are often arbitrarily incarcerated for as long as a government chooses, at least

The issues are alluded to in a kind of shorthand.

everyone agrees that they exist and they are being held. A macabre unreality surrounds a disappearance. Someone is gone. None of the clues surrounding a disappearance leads to any sure answers. No one knows if a disappeared person is alive or dead.

There is little suggestion in this docudrama of the vast number of the disappearances, of the dissolution of Argentine institutions or of the wider response of the Argentine people to the military's various strategies. When these issues are covered at all, they are alluded to in a kind of shorthand, which is disorienting to those not already familiar with them. One knows far too little about what Timerman was fighting for. The audience is almost asked to accept his heroism on faith.

In the prison and torture scenes, Yellen refuses to fully explore the horror. And so even in the most graphic moments one is left naive and uninformed about the depth of the atrocities. By keeping herself from the real horror of the story, Yellen denies us access to its wealth of heroism and faith.

Argentina today.

Argentina is now at a crossroads. After so many years of silence, the issue of the disappeared seems ready to explode. Thousands recently marched with the relatives of the missing in protest over the government's refusal to give any new information on the disappeared. The country is divided between those who believe Argentina must come to terms

with the past in order to move beyond it and those who talk of the need to forget. Many fear that if the military is pressed too hard, there will be further reprisals and bloodshed. Every day the military loses more credibility. Yet there is talk of alliances between the junta and powerful right-wing trade unions. Meanwhile, those whose courage is so great (Timerman says in the docudrama that it would be sinful not to record it)—the relatives who over the years have risked everything for their missing loved ones—are as yet unanswered. ■

Elizabeth Hanly, a screenwriter, is writing a book about families of the disappeared in Argentina.

CALENDAR

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May 27

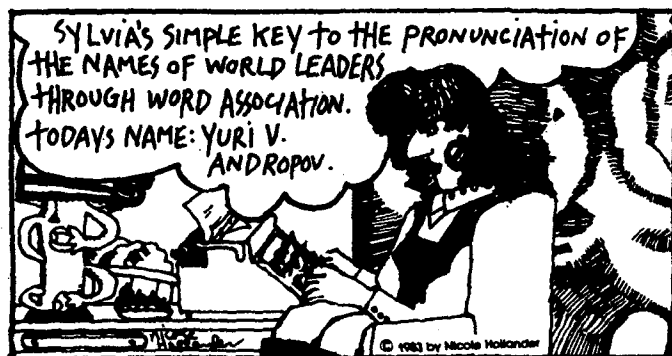
A forum on the new independent political movement. Speakers: Emily Carter Padilla, Coordinator Harlem New Alliance Party; Dennis Serrette, Founder Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; John Fraire, Chicano activist, Founder Boston Institute for Social Therapy and Research. Admission: \$3 employed, \$1 unemployed. Sponsors: Illinois Welfare Rights Coalition; Organizing Committee for Chicago Institute for Social Therapy and Research. For more information, call 935-1033.

June 2

Physicians for Social Responsibility Chicago Chapter meeting. Rush Medical Center, 1750 W. Harrison, Room 1245-Jelke. Thursday, June 2, 6:30 p.m. General discussion. Everyone welcome. For further information—call 726-8087.

Sylvia

by Nicole Hollander



Jazz

Continued from page 16

and beads, they were also addressing their sisters in the audience.

"No Man's Mama."

Their songs were not always about independence. Sometimes they sang about being miserable without men; sometimes about mistreatment being better than nothing. There were blues about everything from bedbugs to toothaches, as well

as heartaches. But at least some of the time, Reitz says, women were singing about being free, about taking control of their lives and loves, about the thrill of defying convention. In a 1925 song, Ethel Waters celebrates divorce:

I can say what I like, I can do what I like. / I'm a gal who is on a matrimonial strike; / Which means, I'm no man's mama now.

So far, Reitz has released eight high-quality albums on her Rosetta Records label (115 West 16 Street, New York, N.Y. 10011). One is a collection of women's railroad blues, songs about women who lost their men to the lure of the freight train and songs about women who

rambled themselves. Another is a collection of the work of women who were both blues singers and piano players, like Georgia White, Hazel Scott and Victoria Spivey, whose career lasted 50 years. On all the albums, the women are backed up by top musicians, such as Duke Ellington, Count Basie, Big Bill Broonzy, Henry Red Allen and Coleman Hawkins.

Reitz has also compiled a film of rare clips showing "mean mothers" on stage and she is finishing a book on their legacy. She has unearthed songs that race record producers did not think white audiences would enjoy. When producers did seek a wider audience for these singers, they usually promoted the victim var-

ity of song. "How presumptuous of them to assume that we would not be interested in that music," Reitz says. "I might have had a very different view of myself as an American woman if I had grown up with those songs."

Thanks to her perseverance, today's girls can grow up with this proud, fearless music—with songs like Ida Cox's "Wild Women Don't Have the Blues."

You never get nothing, by being an angel child, / You'd better change your ways, and get real wild. / I want to tell you something, I wouldn't tell you no lie, / Wild women are the only kind that ever get by. / Wild women don't worry, wild women don't have no blues.

CLASSIFIED

PUBLICATIONS

READ ABOUT ATHEIST ACTIVISM in Los Angeles. Send \$1.00. Sample copy: Atheist Connection Newsletter, Suite 69 Dept-C, 2531 Sawtelle Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90064.

WHAT IS MARXISM? by Bertell Ollman. Here is the short (10 pages), clear, non-sectarian, lively treatment of Marxism, which touches all the main bases that you always wanted for your class or study group. 50¢ each; prepaid bulk orders only: minimum of 10; add \$1 mailing and handling charge for every 10 pamphlets ordered; NY state residents add sales tax. Red Hot Publications, P.O. Box 356, Peck Slip Station, NY, NY 10038. Bookstore discounts available.

SCHOLARLY BOOKLET conclusively proves Flavius Josephus created fictional Jesus, Christianity. \$3—Vector, Box 6215-Q, Bellevue, WA 98008.

THE INTERNATIONAL DAY OF Nuclear Disarmament Handbook: a comprehensive reader and organizer's guide detailing nuclear weapons and the antinuclear movement and planning of direct actions, with a special focus on International Day, June 20, 1983. 104 pages. Send \$3.00/copy to Livermore Action Group, 3126 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, CA 94705.

"THE JEWS OF THE DIASPORA or the Vocation of a Minority" by Richard Marienstras. Sophisticated critique of Zionist and Leninist approaches to Jewish peoplehood from progressive perspective. \$2.50. Medem Jewish Socialist Group, P.O.B. 564, Brooklyn, NY 11217. (Checks payable to Jewish Youth Bund).

HELP WANTED

JOB INFORMATION: Overseas, Cruise Ships, Houston, Dallas, Alaska. \$20,000 to \$60,000/yr. possible. Call (805) 687-6000, Ext. J-2440. Call refundable.

REGISTERED NURSE needed for Camp Kinderland, Toland, MA (July and August). Call collect Monday, Tuesday, Thursday: (212) 255-6267.

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Coalition of citizen organizations seeks director of energy conservation and jobs organizing project. Need policy, organizing and media skills and experience. Send resume and cover letter by June 10 to Director, Northwest Conservation Act Coalition, P.O. Box 20458, Seattle, WA 98102.

ORGANIZERS, PROJECT DIRECTOR

EDUCATION

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—Citizens Action League (CAL) is a statewide, multi-issue, grassroots community organization fighting for economic justice for low and moderate residents of California. Issues include utility reform, gas decontrol, housing, crime, jobs. Organizing jobs available Los Angeles, S.F. Bay Area, San Diego. Women and minorities encouraged to apply. Resumes to: Tom Newbery, State Director, 2988 Mission St., San Francisco, CA 94110.

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ORGANIZATIONS

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DO YOU WANT A SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE in 1984? We are calling on all socialist organizations and individuals to combine forces and run one national presidential ticket independent of the Democratic and Republican parties. Contact the East Coast Commit-

tee for a Peace & Freedom Party National Slate in 1984: P.O. Box 831, New York, NY 10008; S-306-173, 1430 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02139; P.O. Box 2361, Philadelphia, PA 19103.

MUSIC

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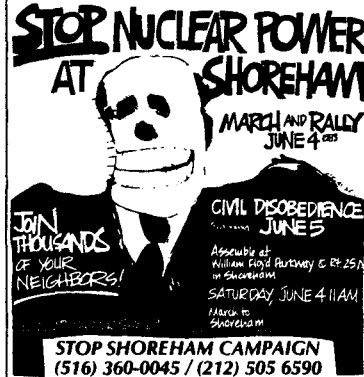
SONGWRITING WITH HOLLY NEAR- 60 other summer workshops in traditional music, crafts, folklore & dance. August Workshop, Box TT, Davis & Elkins College, Elkins, WV 26241.

LIVING SITUATION

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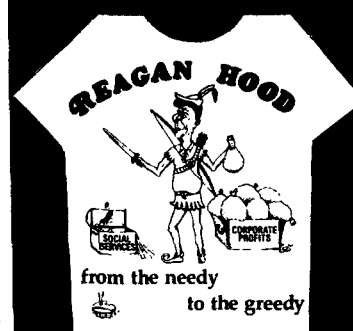
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By Mary Ellen Schoonmaker

Rosetta Reitz, a jazz buff-turned-historian, has set out to rescue a classic, classy era in American music from oblivion. It's been all but forgotten that women were present—and how!—at the birth of the blues.

Mamie Smith recorded the first blues record on Valentine's Day, 1920, the start of a golden era for black women singers. "More than 75 percent of the blues records made between 1920-27 featured women," Reitz notes. The names have faded but the spirit of the music endures. These women were gutsy, glittering queens in their day—unabashedly sexy and singing songs that were declarations of independence.

On an album produced by Reitz in 1980 titled *Mean Mothers* Rosa Henderson, a star who recorded 100 songs for eight different labels before ending up a stock clerk at Saks Fifth Avenue, sings "Can't Be Bothered with No Sheik."

I ain't no flapper, just a darn good gal./Don't want no sheik, just a real good pal.

Henderson's first record was even more blunt: "I Ain't No Man's Slave."

A jazz fan while she was raising and supporting three daughters in Greenwich Village, Reitz, 58, said the women's movement started her thinking. "I asked myself why jazz is a male domain," she said. "Where were the women?" It took years of detective work: she read hundreds of books, haunted old record stores and hooked into a network of at times suspicious collectors who jealously guarded their holdings. But her patience paid off. Through scratchy, tinny recordings made 50-60 years ago, she found still-vital notes of female defiance—along with humor, irony and heart.

The smooth, lyrical music is a revelation to anyone who thought women's blues were all teary, lost-without-you pleas for men to come home. The same Bessie Smith who is remembered for her taste for "A Pigfoot and a Bottle of Beer," and her "Empty Bed Blues," also sang "Ain't Gonna Play No Second Fiddle" and wrote "Young Woman's Blues":

Ain't gonna marry, ain't gonna settle down, I'm a young woman and ain't done runnin' around.

Reitz's sunny apartment is decorated with black and white photos of her muses in plain plastic frames: Bessie Smith, Billie Holiday and Lil Hardin Armstrong—the wife of Louis Armstrong, who was a gifted piano player, composer and leader of her own all-woman bands.

There's no one explanation for the loss of this musical heritage, Reitz says. But she believes it has a lot to do with male producers, historians and critics focusing their attention on the work of male artists: it is their work that has survived. Were the songs of her feisty "mean mothers" too threatening?

Asserting the blues.

There's a picture on her wall of Ida Cox, who was called the "uncrowned queen of the blues" in a 1924 ad for her records. She began singing in a Georgia church as a child and ran away with a minstrel show in 1903. She became famous through "race" records, so called because they were sold only in black neighborhoods and through the mail for 75 cents each. At the peak of her success, Cox could spend several hundred dollars on a petticoat. A shrewd businesswoman, she carried thousands of dollars in

travelers checks in her bosom.

She was billed in one Harlem show as the "sepia Mae West" because of her bawdy songs. (Actually, Mae West and Sophie Tucker copied their sassy sexuality from black singers). Reitz has re-issued an Ida Cox album and released for the first time a song Cox wrote at the age of 43 titled "One Hour Mama" about her need for a slow and easy man who "needn't ever take the lead"—an anthem to the assertiveness she displayed all her life.

*I don't want no lame excuses,
Bout my lovin' bein' so good,
That you couldn't wait no longer
Now I hope I'm understood.*

Reitz has also produced an album of the work of Valaida Snow, a singer and trumpet player whose career spanned 30 years. Snow toured Peking, Paris, Cairo and Tokyo, appearing with stars like Count Basie, Earl Hines and Fletcher Henderson. During World War II, she was seized by the Nazis for being non-Aryan and shipped to a concentration camp, where she saved the life of a child being beaten to death by throwing her body over the girl. The Copenhagen police chief, a jazz fan, eventually arranged her release as an exchange prisoner. Weighing only 74 pounds, she returned to the U.S. and resumed her career, which lasted until 1956 when she

died of a stroke after a show at the Palace Theater.

The highest compliment paid Snow in her day was that she played the trumpet "like a man." These women thrived on making it in a man's world and enjoyed the respect of the men they worked with. But as they paraded across the stages of backwater tent shows and packed big city theaters, decked out in feathers, flowers

Continued on page 15

Rosetta Records



Ida Cox



Bessie Smith

Rosetta Records

JAZZ MUSES

Ethel Waters



Rosetta Records

Valaida Snow



Rosetta Records

A look back at the women who gave birth to the blues.